



SENATE OF PAKISTAN
Promoting Pakistan's Defence through
Development and Democracy

REPORT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON DEFENCE

**Policy Seminars on Nuclear non-Proliferation,
Pakistan's Counter-Terror Strategy and
Pakistan in 21st Century: Defence, Development & Democracy**

Cyber Security Workshop for Journalists

Meeting with German Military Delegation

November-December 2013

Report 8



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From the Chairman's Desk



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From the Chairman's Desk

The Senate Defence Committee Report covers a busy schedule with wide ranging activities. The Defence Committee hosted the former Foreign Minister of Australia, Mr. Gareth Evans, who also heads the Asia Pacific Leadership Network on Nuclear Non-Proliferation. There was animated discussion on national security. The Australian team also presented their perspective, which was duly responded by various participants, including several from the audience.

As part of its outreach at various dimensions of national security, the Senate Defence Committee also organized a Policy Seminar on “Pakistan's Counter-Terror Strategy” and this time, the Committee was very fortunate to benefit from the wisdom, experience and competence of Mr. Hassan Abbas, a former officer of Police Service of Pakistan, who is now a scholar specializing on police, law enforcement and the national security issues. His visit was made possible with the cooperation of Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung, which works as a partner of the Senate Defence Committee on various issues. The debate on counter-terrorism was very timely and it set a perspective for the future and how Pakistan has to tackle its Number One problem. In order to serve as a bridge between the media and the military on security issues, the Senate Defence Committee organized a Cyber Security Workshop for journalists. At this workshop, the first ever Cyber Security Manual was also produced and we thank the prominent journalist, Mr. Baqir Sajjad, for his efforts in this regard. The Senate Defence Committee feels that as a parliamentary committee, it has the responsibility to perform a public service informing and involving relevant segments of society including media on national security, so that national security issues are discussed in public in a transparent manner.

As part of its public diplomacy, the Senate Defence Committee also received a high-level German military delegation led by a retired 4-Star General. They had a Q&A session and their queries were answered to their satisfaction.

During this period, another interesting initiative of the Senate Defence Committee was the book launch of prominent American journalist, Pamela Constable's “Playing with Fire”, where along with other participants, Leader of the Opposition in Senate, Senator Aitzaz Ahsan figured prominently as the keynote speaker. The book, which presents a perspective on Pakistan of a Western journalist, was critiqued by a number of participants for not fully capturing the essence of 21st Century's Pakistan whose citizens' activism, dynamism of civil society, emergence of a truly independent judiciary and media were not properly presented by the American journalist who preferred to look at Pakistan primarily through the prism of the US-led war against terrorism.

The Senate Defence Committee is grateful to the Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS) under its Executive Director, Mr. Khan Ahmed Goraya, and the Konrad-Adenauer Stiftung led by Mr. Ronny Heine for their cooperation in making the Senate Defence Committee's activities a great success.

I am also grateful to the Secretary of the Committee, Mr. Sharifullah Wazir and the Senior Private Secretary, Mr. Riaz Ahmad



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Khan, for providing overall coordination and direction in presenting this report in which they were assisted by Ms Zahra Belal, Research Associate. As always, the Senate Secretariat, led by Mr. Amjad Pervez, Secretary Senate, is extremely cooperative in facilitation.

Apart from the Senate Defence Committee's role, we managed, this time, other responsibilities including the holding of the biggest-ever parliamentary conference in the history of Pakistan, the Asian Parliamentary Assembly (APA), which had a record 31 countries representation. I am grateful to the Chairman Senate, Senator Syed Nayyer Hussain Bukhari, who expressed his full confidence in me by nominating me as the Chairman of the APA Organizing Committee and this event in Islamabad between December 8-10, 2013 became a milestone in Pakistan's parliamentary history. This is because of great team work and good home work. The Senate Joint Secretary, Maj. Husnain Haider played a pivotal role in the success of this conference. I thank all my colleagues in the Senate for their cooperation and kind comments in this regard. Thank you all.

Mushahid Hussain Sayed
Chairman

Executive Summary



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Executive Summary

Living up to its repute of being the pioneer committee actively endeavoring to bridge the gap between the people and the parliamentarians, the Senate Defence Committee's eighth report presents a tale of the various policy seminars and sessions held under its auspices as directed by the Committee's chairman, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed.

The first seminar covered by the report is on “Nuclear Non-Proliferation,” a policy seminar that brought Mr. Gareth Evans, former Foreign Minister of Australia, to Pakistan as the keynote speaker. Mr. Evans was accompanied by his colleague, Prof. Rajesh Thakur, with whom he has co-authored a report on the progress of non-proliferation among the nuclear weapons state; this report, along with the narrative on nuclear non-proliferation and its significance, was presented at the seminar by Mr. Gareth Evans in an enlightening speech. To create a balanced debate, Dr. Shireen Mazari, Member National Assembly, and Mr. Asif Ezdi, former Ambassador, were also invited to the panel; the two distinguished speakers highlighted the various loopholes and shortcomings of the non-proliferation regime with sound reasoning. The condensed texts of these informative speeches are included in the report for the benefit of the reader.

Addressing one of the most crucial policy issues of Pakistan, the seminar on “Pakistan's Counter Terror Strategy: What is to be done?” lit up the state-of-the-art auditorium of Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services (PIPS) with its engaging, lively and passionate discourse on the topic. The eminent panel was upheld by the likes of Prof. Hasan Abbas, all the way from National Defence University of Washington who also served in the police force in Pakistan; Miss Seema Baloch, former Ambassador to Sri Lanka, who served in the time Sri Lanka's counter insurgency operation; and Mr. Tariq Pervez, former Chairman NACTA. The three speakers analysed Counter-terror from different angles and elucidated fresh perspective on how to tackle counter-terrorism in Pakistan; the useful insights from the seminar are hereby presented in the report.

On a similar theme was the third seminar, “Pakistan in 21st Century: Defence, Development & Democracy”, that also launched the book, “Playing with Fire”, by Pamela Constable, a senior correspondent of Washington Post. Ms. Constable gave a brief overview of the book which has attempted to report, account and understand the current state of Pakistan and how it came to be thus. Senator Aitzaz Ahsan, Mr. Ayaz Amir (a senior journalist) and Dr. Fouzia Saeed (a civil society activist) were invited to give their remarks on the book. A short report of the seminar is enclosed here.

Two additional events are also included in this report: the first-of-its-kind cyber security workshop was arranged in collaboration with Konrad Adenauer Stiftung Foundation, during which the first ever cyber security manual was launched; and the meeting of the Chairman with the German Capstone delegation on “Civil Military Relations”.

These five events are the highlight of the Senate Defence Committee's eighth report; pictures and press clippings of the events are also pasted to produce an engaging experience.

Policy Seminar on Nuclear non-Proliferation
October 24, 2013



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Policy Seminar of the Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production held on 24th October, 2013 at 3.00 p.m. in PIPS Auditorium

Mr. Chairman (Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed): In the name of Almighty, the Lord of all mankind, good A very warm welcome to the Policy Seminar of the Senate Committee on Defence and Defence Production. We have very distinguished guests from a very friendly country, with which we have longstanding connections of culture, especially cricket. These are His Excellency Gareth Evans, the former Foreign Minister of Australia and the ex-head of the International Crisis Group, accompanied by Prof. Ramesh Thakur. The two guests have co-authored a report on nuclear weapons which will be presented in the seminar. This is hopefully going to be hopefully an interesting and informative seminar. We have two distinguished speakers from Pakistan i.e., Dr. Shireen Mazari, who is the head of a think-tank and the Information Secretary of PTI, someone who always makes a positive and proactive contribution to national security, and His Excellency Asif who is one of the best writers produced by Pakistan's Foreign Service and former Ambassador to Germany.

The Senate Defence Committee has always focused on issues because we feel that our role is not just to oversight

the Ministry of Defence or the Armed Forces. Our purpose is also to generate debate and discussion on issues of national security which are important for Pakistan and the region. In this context, we are the first to introduce public hearings on the issues of defence budget, civil-military relations, the military and the armed forces. I would like to invite Gareth Evans to start his presentation. Thank you.

Mr. Gareth Evans: Thank you, Senator Mushahid, I really appreciate the opportunity to talk to you, the Parliamentary colleagues and to such a galaxy of distinguished experts. This report on the strategic play has been authored by Dr. Ramesh Thaker and myself, and sponsored by the Centre for Nuclear Non-Proliferation Disarmament in Australian National University.

The foremost thing of this report is an analysis of what is being done or not being done, based on inter-governmental reports and official reports, with hopes that by doing so, we would stimulate them for better concentrated action in the future. The reporters we set were paid by the Centre based in Canberra in assistance with the Australian Government party, University Party and the NTI. It was prepared by us with a lot of input from Stock of International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI). The data is really up-to-date and of well standard quality.





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I begin by articulating a belief that we certainly need on-the-line non-proliferation but the overall conclusion, that the report arrives at in its analysis, is against these premises; the picture is really a very depressing one. President Obama in his elections in the United States rose with the commitment, and also demonstrated in his Prague Speech in 2009, to make the world nuclear free, that had paved the real ground for optimism. The optimism was encouraged by the initial negotiations between the United States and Russia – the New STAR treaty which very significantly reduced the number of strategically deployed weapons. There was further optimism generated by the two nuclear non-proliferation summits. There were also relatively positive, constructive moves that came from the 2010 Review Conference.

However, a review of all the recommendations of the Independent Commission and the Governmental conference reveals another story. When it comes to nuclear disarmament, the overwhelming responses are in a zero or minimal progress with practically very little positive to show any movement in recent years. The picture of nuclear non-proliferation is a little bit more balanced when you see it summarized; however, it is a bit less balanced when the content of some of these recommendations is compared with what has been

implemented to find the latter to be not very substantial, even if it has been formally dealt with. On nuclear security, it looks like a lot has been happening and indeed it has like national security regulations and domestic, but the data shows that a lot is more for show than for substance as there is no system of verifiability or transparency in place. On peaceful uses, there is a modest indication of movement in terms of industry commitments to non-proliferation objectives.

On nuclear disarmament, the truth of the matter is that no state is paying anything other than lip service to the objective of providing evidence of the size of their weapons stocks, their fissile material stocks etc. As far as the doctrine and non-deployment practices are concerned, it is obvious that all nine nuclear armed states foresee the indefinite retention of nuclear weapons and their continuing role for their respective country's security policies. This is not encouraging for the minimization strategy. On disarmament principle, by which I mean irreversibility, transparency, verifiability, nuclear arms reduction, there is some progress but not much.

On nuclear arms reduction, there is a great deal to be told. There are 18,000 warheads, which have the combined capability that is equivalent to about 120, 000 Hiroshima size bombs; majority of them are possessed by Russia and





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the US (7-8 thousand each) while the other nuclear armed countries have around a 1000 among them. However, a lot of this is guess work, because states are non-transparent about their stocks in many instances, but this is the best estimate from the SIPRI, a gold standard group in Stockholm. The indication that there is some progress as the nuclear arms figures are declining is false since the decline is only explained by retirement of worn-out weapons, rather than any serious process of actual numerical reduction. The US-Russia reduction has been in the number of strategically deployed weapons, rather than any commitment to actually destroying them.

The situation in China-Pakistan-India nexus shows an increase in the stocks, occurring albeit from quite small basis in both cases. When it comes to nuclear doctrine, we analyze the positions of the key nuclear armed countries in reducing their reliance on nuclear weapons e.g. do they sign up to the principle of no-first-use of doctrine, or the declaration that the sole purpose of their nuclear weapons is to deal with nuclear attack contingencies or is it much more open ended. Similarly, on nuclear force, nothing much has really happened here to reduce deployments. Contrarily, some efforts are being made by various countries to enhance the survivability of their nuclear weapons, in particular, by putting them on submarines.

On parallel security issues, there are issues of ballistic

missile defence and conventional arms imbalances, in particular, the perceived development by the US of new generation, conventional weapons for global strike by putting conventional weapons on intercontinental missiles, which is causing a lot of anxiety in Russia and China. There is no progress at all in addressing these issues which impeding further negotiations between the USA and Russia and also inhibiting initiation of any serious negotiation between the US and China. There is little progress on mobilizing political will, however, a number of NGOs like Global Zero have been working actively.

With regard to nuclear non-proliferation, there is some progress on the face of it; however, a deeper analysis raises many glaring question marks e.g. how is the compliance enforcement, what are the penalties for those who walk away, like North Korea, from the NPT Treaty, has it been possible to agree on any strengthening of those disciplines, has there been any tightening up of the safeguard regime from those countries that are participating in the NPT? On Nuclear Weapons Free Zone, there has been the Middle East Weapons Free Zone but there has been a standstill since more than the last twelve months with things not looking any better. On nuclear testing, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty brought minimum progress, but is stuck because a number of countries still have to ratify it to bring it into effect e.g. the





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United States, China, India and Pakistan. Everybody, at the moment, is waiting for the United States to take the first step but with the Republicans, with the ideology that they have, are not willing even though President Obama wants it to happen, this means a standing deadlock on that front.

Fissile material is an issue on which Pakistan's position is very similar to a lot of other countries because Pakistan has been resisting even the commencement of negotiations, in the Conference on Disarmament Treaty, to ban the future production of fissile material for weapons purpose, putting this issue on minimal progress.

This is the story, in a nutshell, that this book takes you through in much more detail. The first half of the book is a very detailed general analysis of the state of players on all these issues while the last part is the tabulation of these specific recommendations.

In the end, I just want to quickly run through the argument as to why it is a good thing to get rid of nuclear weapons; that is, a good thing for Pakistan to rethink its very well-established position in this respect. The basic common storyline, doled out by various international commissions starting with Canberra Commission in 1996, is very simply articulated in three sentences as follows: 1) So long as any state has retained nuclear weapons, the others will want

them, 2) So long as any state has nuclear weapons, they are bound to be used one day, if not by deliberate design then by accident or miscalculation, or human or system error 3) Any such use would be catastrophic for life.

On this planet, as we know it, even relatively limited regional exchange will be horrifying, a regional exchange, say between India and Pakistan, would result in, scientists tell us, global winter phenomenon whereby world's agriculture would be put at serious risk, in addition to the loss of around billion lives, aside from all the environmental havoc that would be caused.

There are obvious humanitarian arguments for getting rid of nuclear weapons. Basic argument is simply that nuclear weapons are simply the most indiscriminately inhumane weapon ever devised by man. Chemical weapons are bad enough, biological weapons are bad enough but in the class of weapons of mass destruction, nuclear weapons are on their own.

There is also a financial argument, i.e., it is hugely expensive to maintain a nuclear weapons program which is an opportunity cost in terms of socio policy. Furthermore, building a nuclear armory does not save on conventional weapons because every military in the world that has nuclear weapons, knows perfectly well that





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nuclear weapons can't be a substitute for conventional capability.

There are strategic arguments in favor of nuclear arms around the world and there is a need to address them, i.e., the supposed role of nuclear deterrence in keeping countries safe and alive. There are the kind of arguments that the major nuclear powers make against each other the U.S., Russia, China, and India, that nuclear weapons are the source of stable deterrence as between them. Then there are arguments of countries like, Japan and Australia, who don't have nuclear weapons of their own but are sheltering under the United States nuclear umbrella. That they need nuclear protection to cover them against possible attack as it is not just good enough to rely on big brother's (the US) conventional capability. Additionally, there are arguments of those countries who feel comparatively vulnerable with another country, the situation of small countries like North Korea, who say we need nuclear weapons for regime survival against those who would knock us off, and the situation of Pakistan vis-à-vis India because of the manifest conventional imbalance of capability between the two.

The first point against these arguments is that everyone exaggerates the utility of nuclear weapons generally because they are in fact unusable, unusable to advance

any military objective. It's not that they will never be used, because they may well be used accidentally, by mistake or miscalculation but deliberately, however they are highly unlikely to be used if any half way credible, rational military commander has his way. This is a given article of faith among militaries all round the world that these things are unusable because they do collateral damage to oneself, to territory they are fighting over. The consequences are just so potentially and physically horrific. Associated with that, there is the force of the normative nuclear taboo which exists internationally and which must never be underestimated. All sorts of situations have arisen in the past, even in case of the United States, think of Korea, think of Vietnam where U.S. had been on the back foot but had never ever contemplated the U.S. nuclear weapons. The taboo is very real as John Foster Dallas said, on whether nukes would be used in the defence of Taiwan if China overtakes it, that "we'll be finished so far as world opinion was concerned if we were to use nuclear weapons." Having a taboo does not mean that we don't have to worry about nuclear weapons for all the other reasons I have mentioned, but it does mean that the utility of nuclear weapons as a crucial part of deterrent armory and national protection is really based on the false premise; because everyone knows that this stuff is just unusable and would get countries into horrible hot waters in terms of international credibility and reputation if they went down on





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that particular path.

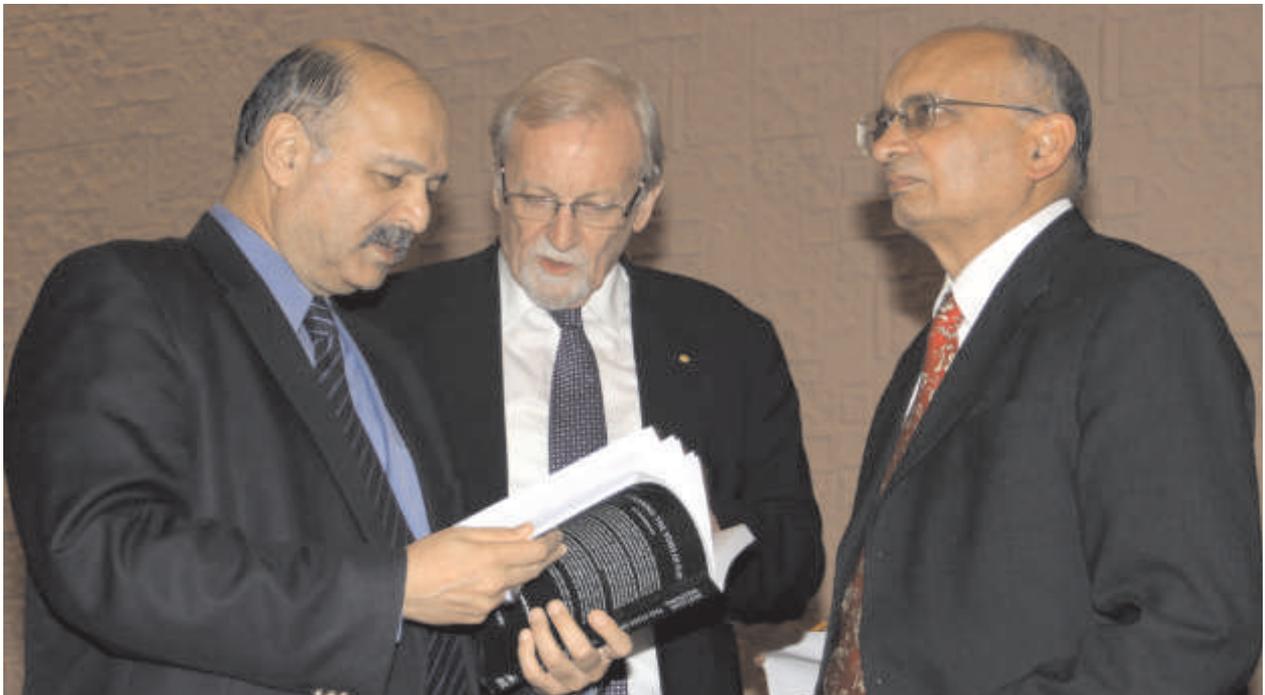
The second point is that everyone overstates the role of nuclear weapons, even during the cold war years, in stopping war between the major nuclear powers. There is, despite everything we now know about what happened during the cold war years, no evidence whatsoever on anyone's historical record that either the Soviet Union or the United States where at any stage determined to wage war on the other to advance their own real political objectives but were dissuaded from doing so only by the existence of nuclear weapons. That is just not the way any of that dynamics played out during the cold war years. No doubt, existence of nuclear weapons on the other side generates a certain sense of caution in a lot of things done diplomatically, politically and internationally. However, in terms of actually being the factor which explains why there wasn't a nuclear war in all those years, it doesn't stand up.

Again, there is also a lot of misunderstanding about the role that nuclear weapons played in ending the Second World War, which is very relevant to the question of whether the possibility of nuclear attack on one's civilian capabilities would be something that stops one from taking military action which is the story of what happened in Japan. Japan did not, as newly emerging scholarly evidence proves, sue for peace after Hiroshima and Nagasaki because of the

nuclear attacks, rather because two or three days later, Russia/Soviet Union came into the war which really was the determining factor in making them change course.

Much more specifically, in the context of imbalanced situations, there is again no evidence, whatsoever, that nuclear weapons have ever deterred large-scale conventional attacks of one country against another. There are plenty of examples when non-nuclear powers have either directly attacked nuclear powers or attacked others knowing these others had nuclear power supporters who would happily come to their defence e.g. the Korean War, the Vietnam War, the Yom-e-Kippur War, the Falkland War, two Afghanistan Wars and the First Gulf War; the calculation made in each case was that the nuclear taboo would be the necessary inhibitor and people could afford to repel the conventional attacks in future.

Again, in the more specific South Asian context as well as others around the place, we do know from an accumulation of experience that the existence of nuclear weapons on both sides is far from being an inhibitor to adventurism taking place. Using conventional weapons all too happily, there has been military adventurism coming from a belief and understanding that one could get away with an awful lot before triggering a major response by the other side because of the existence of nuclear weapons.





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The trouble with that reasoning is that it might work on a number of occasions, as existence of nuclear weapons does generate that degree of extreme caution, e.g. Kargil or reciprocal activity from the other side, but deterrence of this kind only has to fail once for there to be an absolute mess and that is the unhappy reality about these arguments.

All of this needs much more detailed attention that I am unable to give it now but I hope I have said just enough to raise any doubts in your minds, in particular on that basic issue about the grand utility of nuclear weapons and the arguments that are traditionally been made; all in reality are often very flawed indeed. I am not saying they are completely knock out arguments, but they certainly raise question marks as to the utility while the other side of the argument is that whatever utility nuclear weapons might have, it is outweighed by the kind of risks that are associated with their retention by anybody.

The very last thing I want to say is about how do we actually get there? It is one thing to talk grandly that we ought to rethink nuclear weapons but you have got nuclear weapons; India has got nuclear weapons, another seven countries have got nuclear weapons and maybe we can put up a pressure on North Korea to put them in a separate category, but none of the others are going to move away with any degree of enthusiasm at all from the position they

are now at the moment.

So, what is the rational strategy for getting to a safer and saner world in that sort of environment? I think this strategy is not to talk grandly about getting to zero in ten years time or fifteen years time. For all those here who might be passionate about the global zero movement and I am a member of it myself, I simply don't believe that it is going to be achievable within anything other than quite a long time frame. I say that because there are three big problems which stand in the way of getting to absolute zero. One is the technical problem of verification and enforcement. Two is the geo-political problem that unless you can reduce tensions in areas of the world like South Asia, North East Asia, the Middle East, at least to the point where not everybody is on a sort of existential knife-edge, then nobody, psychologically, is going to be in a mood to give away their weapons whatever be the persuasiveness of the rational arguments against nuclear weapons. Third is another psychological issue, which I rudely call, the testosterone principle, i.e. the status and the prestige that nuclear weapons are thought to give their possessors, a very masculine thing. There are quite a few countries where this sort of consideration is not entirely absent from the public debate and perception.

In light of these big barriers to getting to zero, what we





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ought to be doing, and what we can be doing, is getting to a position from which zero becomes thinkable, i.e., a minimal position or minimization strategy. This is the story that lies behind the basic report of the international commission I co-chaired and is the storyline evaluated in this Report here. The argument is, in a nutshell, we can work on numbers to reduce them very dramatically from their present crazy levels of 18,000 or something at the moment to a situation, by 2025, where the United States and Russia have 500 weapons each, from their present 7,000 or 8,000 and the other nuclear arms states have no more than a 1,000 between them, with no increases between now and then from anybody. We can get the numbers down and getting the numbers down is very important.

We can, secondly, get the deployment down. It is one thing to have nuclear weapons and another thing to have them on high trigger alert, as many thousands of U.S. and Russian weapons still are. It is not true that there are a lot of weapons deployed or on alert in South Asia but that is only cool comfort at the moment. However, a minimization strategy would mean a world in which such nuclear weapons are mainly locked away and they certainly can't be used quickly. I am not a big opponent putting nuclear weapons on submarines, which is something that makes a lot of people and the anti-nuclear world very unhappy with

me, but I say if that is what it takes for India and Pakistan to be comfortable with having a very small number of nuclear weapons but with guarantee of survivability and guarantee of retaliatory capability against any conceivable contingency, then so be it; if all that it takes is to have a few of these bombs on boats in that way, then that is a price we can possibly pay during this transitional period.

Final thing to achieve during the minimization phase is a doctrinal change, i.e., to get everybody signed up to a serious commitment to no first use, that the only reason you have got nuclear weapons is there is retaliation at the other end. This is not something that Pakistan has been prepared to do but frankly, it is something every nuclear arms state has got to be prepared to do.

All these things can, I think, be very usefully further discussed in bilateral, strategic dialogue between the key players including India and Pakistan; not enough of them are being discussed at the moment, e.g., what constitutes minimal deterrence? How many do we really need in India and Pakistan to cover all conceivable ugly contingencies against each other? Can't we cap it at some lower level? We could talk about it trilaterally if you need to bring China into the equation, because of India's preoccupation. All these are ways of moving forward.

The short point that I finally make is that no matter how





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hard it is, we have to take seriously the problems and risks that are associated with anybody's retention of nuclear weapons. We have to try to get rid of these old, cold war habits of mind that are so endemic in policy makers and public that nuclear weapons really are somehow useful. We just have to try and create a world for our kids and our grandchildren that less dangerous than the one we are living in at the moment. Thank you very much.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed: Thank you, Gareth, for your very comprehensive overview. Now Dr. Shireen Mazari would enlighten us.

Dr. Shireen Mazari: Thank you. I am going to use the same framework of where we are, where we should be and how we can get there but giving an alternate narrative on that.

Where we are? We are in a world which has many nuclear weapon states but there also exists a non-proliferation regime of whose very signatories and parties are themselves violating its treaty and not fulfilling all its articles.

Who has violated the Treaty? The United States has, with its Indo-US nuclear deal. According to the articles 1 and 2 of the Treaty, the US was under an obligation to refrain from any deal which requires transfer of nuclear technology to a

non-party state to NPT. If the US itself has violated the treaty, then the NPT itself stands exposed and questions arise about its validity.

Articles 4 and 5 of the Treaty entail a commitment by all the signatories to help the developing countries in building their civil nuclear programmes and to supply civil nuclear technology to the member states who had ratified the treaty. However, there has been zero operationalization of these articles of the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Then there is the Article 6, "the good faith article", where shows a whole discriminatory principle of non-proliferation, that nuclear weapon states will start moving towards nuclear disarmament, but in "good faith" so it was not binding. The result is that there has not been much movement on that either.

So to answer the question, where we are now, vis-a-vis the non-proliferation regime; it is a regime that is full of holes and which the powerful implement and use as and when they see fit but they are not sincerely committed to it.

Post 9/11, there has been a shift from trying (at least at the declaratory level) to push for non-proliferation globally in a non-discriminatory fashion to an attempt to only target certain states and their nuclear capability, be it civilian or





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nuclear. Compare the case of North Korea with Iran; the latter is a signatory to the NPT, i.e., has made a commitment that it will not produce nuclear weapons, and has not expressed any desire to leave the NPT. In contrast, North Korea did everything else but it was Iran that was targeted. In recent years, there seems to be less focus on the principle of non-proliferation (or the presumptions of non-proliferation) and more on dealing with the proliferation issue in the context of the certain states, and the fact that they happen to be Muslim states may or may not be a coincidence but is a reality.

Pakistan has at times been discriminated by the US to derange Pakistan's nuclear capability vis-à-vis India's, e.g., by trying to sneak India into the nuclear suppliers group and giving the hilarious explanation that even though, the Indians have not signed the NPT, nevertheless, they are like-minded. This like-minded in Pakistani politics is a very dubious word but what do the Americans mean by like-minded? They say that since India believes in democracy hence it is like-minded and so must come into the NSG. What does democracy has to do with the nuclear suppliers group when there are states like China and Russia who are members of the nuclear suppliers group, but have very different styles of democracy. So where is the like mindedness? Let us get over this hypocrisy. The fact is only certain nuclear weapon states are being

targeted.

Furthermore, there has been a very dangerous revelation, about which the international community now has serious concerns, that the command and control systems of certain nuclear weapon states may be insecure. However, it is not Pakistan or India which is having problems but the US, when they lost a plane with live nuclear missiles and all they did in the aftermath was to fire one of their nuclear commanders. Hence, I must emphasize on the serious issues of command and control of American Nukes, especially when the Americans are developing battle field tactical nuclear weapons.

Then we have this whole “bogey” that has been raised about non-state actors interested in acquiring nuclear weapons. I believe that they don't need to because they are not fighting for territorial control, but rather for the hearts and mind; so why would they need nuclear weapons, when in any case, they can get other WMD much quickly and you can't carry nuclear weapons while hiding in jungles and mountains. So, in my view, nuclear weapons are irrelevant in the context of the threat of non-state actors, other WMD may be but this is a bogey that is being raised as a discriminatory measure.

Also, there is the issue of the supplier cartels which also





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shows discrimination. We are made to believe that the NSG and all these supplier cartels are actually international treaties which we all must abide by. These are supplier cartels who have decided not sell to certain countries without having any international legal standing! The US is trying to get India a membership of the Australian group, despite the fact that India lied about its chemical weapons in 1992; they signed a bilateral agreement with Pakistan on chemical weapons, declaring themselves chemical weapon-free but when they became a party to the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1993, they joined it as a chemical weapons state. Hence, the discriminatory approach is where we are today in terms of all forms of non-proliferation linked to the nuclear weapons issue.

Another such measure is the special safeguards agreement that IAEA has for Indian civil nuclear possessions, which gives an escape clause, i.e., India can choose to abrogate the safeguards agreements. None of our safeguards agreements, even though we are a non-NPT state, allow us that freedom.

Mr. Gareth talked about the doctrine of no first use with a constant to Pakistan when, the fact of the matter is, no country other than China has stated the no first use. India is nuclear doctrine state which reserves the right to use nuclear weapons against any WMD strike from anywhere which is as much of a first use as any other doctrine can

be. The US itself, in its nuclear posture review, said more or less the same thing which is another first use. Hence, with this discriminatory approach, the seriousness of non-proliferation and the presumption against non-proliferation has been diluted to a large extent.

Where should we be? I believe that for a cohesive and serious discussion on non-proliferation, Israel must also be brought in to the loop. Nobody talks of Israel, it is as if it is off the radar totally even though there is a whole proliferation trail to Israel; the French started it in 1956 with the Americans dedicating itself to the task later and yet nobody talks about the proliferators. Or even India's proliferation record, which has been very well-documented by an American think tank. We have to stop making countries specific exemptions.

If there needs be exemptions in the NSG, or in other cartels, they must all be on criteria based approach. They must not be country specific as that will not take the goal of non-proliferation further. There will be no progress if there is a discriminatory approach.

The IISS's latest report on nuclear proliferation not only leaves out Israel, but unfairly and solely attacks Pakistan, stating that Pakistan is a de-stabilizer and gives the usual story of the extremist will come to power and controlling





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the nukes. Yet, it doesn't talk about India where time nuclear testing was done when the extremist party, BJP, was in power and whose current Prime Ministerial candidate is Mr. Moodi of the Gujrat massacres repute.

I finally come to this point about the horror of nuclear war. It is ironic that nuclear weapons were only used when only one state had them. The moment there was a balance, nobody used nuclear weapons. If you read the reasons as to why the Americans used nuclear weapons against Japan, and not against Germany, we find that it was because the Japanese were not white people but the Germans were. Additionally, the second bomb that they threw on Nagasaki was a bomb that needed testing, which they did by bombing the Japanese.

Japan's aura of being anti-nuclear is wearing off very fast; they have the largest civil nuclear program, the largest fast breeder program and they are also signing nuclear cooperation deals with India, just as Australia is trying to get into the market of the Indian nuclear industry.

I want to end again on this note that with discrimination, you destroy the credibility of the goal of non-proliferation. Finally, it's not about the nuclear weapons; if we had expended enough time, money and energy on resolving conflicts, instead of trying to get States to give up the

weapons, which they will keep because of the conflicts, and then maybe we could move further. Conflict resolution may lead to a nuclear free world but we are going about it the wrong way, putting the cart before the horse. If we resolve the conflicts, then we would not need any weapons system including nuclear weapons. Thank you very much.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed: Thank you Dr. Shireen Mazari *sahiba*.. Now I will invite Ambassador Mr. Asif Ezdi *sahib*.

Mr. Asif Ezdi: Thank you very much. I am honoured to have been invited to speak at this seminar on non-proliferation and I am grateful to Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed for this invitation. I have listened with attention to Professor Gareth Evans and would also like to express my appreciation for the clarity with which he has presented his views.

I will be speaking on Pakistan's commitment to non-proliferation, the challenges we face and the opportunities that are available to us and how we can use them as a responsible nuclear weapons state.

Pakistan shares the global objective of non-proliferation. Since the discovery of the Dr. A. Q. Khan network in 2003, Pakistan has taken the necessary steps to strengthen





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export controls and to enhance the security and safety of its nuclear installations and assets. These include extensive physical protection measures, robust command and control institutions, and comprehensive and effective export control regulatory regimes.

Pakistan is also fully engaged with the international community on nuclear safety and security issues. The efficacy of our strategic export controls has been acknowledged by experts from the international export control regimes during their interaction on different occasions. Our perspective on disarmament and non-proliferation like that of other countries has been shaped by our historical experience and the security challenges we face. It is therefore, quite different from that of Australia. We live in the neighborhood of a large country which has been at war with us three times. We have not forgotten the threats that were hurled at us by India in the two weeks, between its nuclear tests of 11th May, 1998 and our own response on 28th May, 1998. In the fifteen years that have passed since then, there has been no war between us showing that nuclear deterrence has worked.

A nuclear weapons program is driven by the imperatives of our security in a highly challenging environment, not by a desire to seek prestige or to enhance our regional or global status. Since declaring itself to be a nuclear weapons state,

Pakistan has consistently followed a policy of restraint. Our commitment to non-proliferation has been affirmed repeatedly by all governments that have been in power since the nuclear tests. The Pakistan-US joint statement issued yesterday affirms Pakistan's support for the universal objectives of non-proliferation and disarmament. This support has been expressed at the level of the National Command Authority (NCA) as well, a body that comprises of the Prime Minister and the military leadership of the country, and has command of the country's nuclear arsenal. In July 2011, the NCA reiterated Pakistan's desire to contribute to the realization of a world free of nuclear weapons and to the goals of non-proliferation on the basis of equality and in partnership with the international community.

Recently, in September this year, the NCA underscored Pakistan's commitment to play its due part as the mainstream partner in the global non-proliferation regime and renewed Pakistan's keen interest in joining the multilateral export control regimes on a non-discriminatory basis. The NCA stated that Pakistan has requisite credentials for full access to a civil nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, i.e., to meet its growing energy needs for continued economic growth. The meeting noted the importance of Pakistan's positive outreach and enhanced engagement with all the





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multilateral export control regimes, including the membership of the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG). The NCA also emphasized that Pakistan will continue to participate constructively in the nuclear security summit process.

As a nuclear weapons state, Pakistan cannot accede to the NPT because the Treaty does not recognize any nuclear weapons state, other than the five specified in it, but we have been cooperating in other ways in the international non-proliferation efforts.

In addition, while Pakistan has not signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), it has been observing a unilateral moratorium on nuclear testing since 1998. As I just mentioned, we have also strengthened strategic trade controls. We have been interacting with the four export control regimes in order to strengthen our export control mechanisms and enhance global confidence in the efficacy of measures we have taken for this purpose. We have also expressed interest in joining these regimes.

Pakistan's efforts to become a full partner in the global non-proliferation effort are, however, being hampered by the double standards adopted by the major nuclear powers and their allies, with the notable exception of China. The duplicity of these countries is manifested in the India-US nuclear deal and the decision by the nuclear suppliers group to grant a waiver to India on the group guidelines on nuclear trade while maintaining the restrictions on civil nuclear cooperation with Pakistan.

The NSG, as is well-known, was set up in 1975 by the U.S. and six other Western Countries, specifically in response to the so-called peaceful nuclear explosion by India, a year earlier, using plutonium stolen from a Canadian supplied nuclear reactor. Thirty years later, in 2005, the US led the call for giving India a waiver from the NSG rules. This was done as part of a major US effort to make India a global power and I am quoting the exact words of Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, at that time, "This was in pursuance of a strategic engineering plan, designed to build up India as a counter weight to the rise of China". It was part of the same plan that Washington and its allies denied a similar waiver to Pakistan using the activities of the Dr. A. Q. Khan network as a convenient, timely and plausible pretext for a brazen act of duplicity.

In a further show of double standards, the US, backed by

its Western partners and Russia, is now supporting India's bid to become a member of the international export control regimes, including the NSG while opposing or stonewalling on Pakistan's wish to join them. Once India has been admitted, it will not only be able to shape the policies of these cartels for its national goals but also, what is even more important to it, deny technology and membership to Pakistan.

The duplicitous policies, followed by most nuclear suppliers, not only result in the denial of technology, needed by Pakistan for generating nuclear power and for other peaceful purposes, but they also impact negatively on strategic stability in South Asia. As the NCA cautioned in July 2011, "The continued pursuit of policies which detract from the norms of equality, inclusiveness and objectivity represents a regression in the non-proliferation regime and tends to erode the strategic balance in South Asia."

Because of the imbalance in conventional forces between Pakistan and India, Pakistan's nuclear deterrence is central to the defence of the country, and forms the key to the peace and stability of South Asia. Its effectiveness has been demonstrated in three major crises between the two countries since the nuclear tests of 1998; Kargil in 1999, the deployment of Indian forces on Pakistan's borders following the attack on Indian Parliament in December 2011 and the belligerent posture adopted by India following the Mumbai attack in November 2008.

It can hardly be overemphasized that anything that erodes the strategic balance between Pakistan and India is fraught with the risks, not only for the two countries but also for the stability of the whole region and the wider world. This is why it makes eminent good sense that while pursuing the strategic goals for our national interest, the major nuclear suppliers should renounce discriminatory policies that tend to undermine the Pakistan-India strategic balance. A case in point is Australia's decision to sell Uranium to India while maintaining a ban on sale to Pakistan.

The primary purpose of Pakistan's nuclear weapons capability is to deter a conventional attack by India's much larger forces. Pakistan cannot, therefore, subscribe to a no-first-use commitment. The logic behind this stance is the same that prevented NATO from making a similar pledge to the Warsaw Pact Countries during the Cold War.

In configuring the type, size, structure and posture of its nuclear forces, Pakistan adheres to the policy of minimum



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credible deterrence. Needless to say, the demands of this concept are not static but depend on the adversary's forces; nuclear/unconventional and their deployment. As the NCA said last month, Pakistan would not remain oblivious to the evolving security dynamics in South Asia and would maintain a full spectrum deterrence capability to deter all forms of aggression.

Pakistan does not, of course, wish to enter into a nuclear arms race with India. It has, therefore, proposed that a strategic restraint regime to Delhi, a proposal that has three components; mutual nuclear restraint, conventional military balance and resolution of disputes. India has expressed no interest in this proposal.

Pakistan and India have signed two modest agreements on nuclear confidence-building measures. An agreement on prior notification of flight tests of ballistic missiles signed in 2005 and agreement on reducing the risk from accidents relating to nuclear weapons signed in 2007. While desirable, these agreements are no substitute for a meaningful nuclear restraint regime. Pakistan's own desire for nuclear restraint has instead been put to severe tests by India's military plans in three areas. These three areas are: 1) India's plans for waging a conventional war under Pakistan's nuclear threshold. 2) India's Ballistic Missile Defence Plan 3) India's plans for Naval nuclearization.

Despite the nuclearization of South Asia, India continues to nurse the dangerous illusion that it could wage a "limited" conventional war under Pakistan's strategic nuclear threshold. It is no secret that the Indian Army has been working in the past decade on this concept which would see rapid armored thrust into Pakistan with close air support. The idea, as the British road-map, is to inflict damage on Pakistan's forces at the mere 72 hours' notice, seizing territory quickly enough not to incur a nuclear response. Our tactical nuclear weapons program will fill this gap in the nuclear deterrence and is essential for its credibility. Precisely for this reason, India has been trying to generate international pressure on Pakistan not to go ahead with the program. In these efforts, India has been supported by Washington. We must however, remain steadfast in pursuing this program for our own safety and security as well as for the peace and stability of the region.

Secondly, India has been working on a Ballistic Missile Defence capability with the help of the US, Russian and Israeli technology. Once deployed the result would be to undermine strategic stability in South Asia by eroding the

credibility of Pakistan's deterrence. The Indian BMD programme is still at the testing stage and an operational BMD system is far away, but Pakistan can't close its eyes to these developments.

Third, India is pressing ahead with naval nuclearisation to complete its program of land, air and sea platforms for its nuclear deterrent. It has been testing ballistic and cruise missiles for deployment on platforms at sea, including nuclear submarines. Last year India commissioned a nuclear part submarine Checker – II, formally known as NERPA, which it has leased from Russia. This submarine is capable of firing torpedoes as well as nuclear tipped Graynor Cruise Missiles. The reactor of India's first indigenously-built nuclear submarine, the *Arihant*, was activated last August. It is expected to begin its sea trial soon and to be deployed in two years. The *Arihant* is not an attack submarine but one designed solely to carry ballistic missiles. India will have operationized its seaborne missiles by 2015 or 2016. This has the potential to erode strategic stability further because seaborne dual use platform that can be used to launch both conventional weapons and nuclear overheads create an even more hazardous ambiguity than they do on land. India's plans for a seaborne nuclear deterrence have the tacit support, if not also the encouragement, of Washington.

Sooner or later, Pakistan will have to develop this capability to maintain the credibility of its nuclear deterrence. In addition to maintaining a credible nuclear deterrence, Pakistan also needs to press its demand for access to civil nuclear technology more vigorously than it has done so far. For this purpose, it must make full use of its diplomatic options, three in particular.

First, Pakistan should maintain its position on the commencement of negotiations in the CD (Conference on Disarmament) on a Treaty on the production of fissile material. Pakistan should agree to the negotiations on two conditions: a) that as Pakistan has been demanding the question of existing stockpiles of fissile material should also be addressed in the Treaty and, b) that International restrictions on civil nuclear cooperation with Pakistan should be lifted.

Second, Pakistan should make it known that unless it has given a waiver by the NSD, similar to that given to India; Pakistan will not ratify the CTBT, even if India does so. Since certification by Pakistan, one of the 44 Annex-II states is essential for the entry into force of the Treaty, it



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gives Pakistan considerable leverage to backup its demand for civil nuclear technology.

Third, Pakistan should also take position that if it is not admitted to NSG and the other International export control regimes together with India, it will neither agree to negotiations on Fissile Material Treaty nor ratify the CTBT. At its meeting last month, the National Command Authority declared that it would maintain a full spectrum deterrence capability to deter all forms of aggression, opposite to any international arrangement that is detrimental to the country's security and strategic interest, and take a position on Fissile Material Treaty as dictated by National Security interest and the objectives of strategic stability in South Asia.

The question now is whether the government will have the backbone to standby these assurances in the face of US pressure. I am personally quite hopeful that it will. Thank you.

Mr. Mushahid Hussain Syed: Thank you very much and a very special thanks to Professor Gareth Evens and Professor Ramesh Thakar sahib. Thank you very much ladies and gentlemen.

Press Clippings



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SENATE SECRETARIAT (PR-Cell)

Name of Newspaper:

Pakistan Observer

Place of Publication

Islamabad.

Date of Issue

27-10-13

Double standard on nuclear non-proliferation

CITY REPORTER

ISLAMABAD—Speakers at a seminar on Nuclear Non-Proliferation, dispelled negative narrative about Pakistan's nuclear assets and called upon the West to shun double standards in this regard.

They urged the West to promote nuclear regimes of some states as essential for 'safety' and pressurize others to end nuclear programmes for 'global security'.

They termed it against the norms of a civilized international diplomacy and observed that there must be an end to discrimination.

The seminar was organized by the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production at Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services in Islamabad.

Diplomats, parliamentarians, students, representatives of the civil society, journalists and large number of students attend the seminar. Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman Senate Defence Committee in his opening remarks observed that Pakistan's nuclear programme is

for peaceful purposes. He condemned the double standards and biased approach of the 'nuclear haves' and underscored the need to resolve outstanding issues like Kashmir, Palestine and Korea etc to make the world nuclear free and more safer.

Senator Mushahid also rejected the propaganda against Pakistan and remarked that those who call our atomic bomb as Islamic bomb must learn that bombs have no religion.

"Gaining nuclear capability by Pakistan created a 'balance of power' in the South Asian region. We were not the one to take the initiative, the world must know, it was India which injected nuclear weapons into South Asia", he added.

Dr. Shirin Mazari, MNA said that discrimination has led the states to opt for nukes. She also mentioned about the grave violation of the Non-proliferation treaty (NPT) by the signatories.

She said that articles of the treaty have been violated grossly by the US itself and that the NPT was being used to target some states and provide protection to others. Senator Sehar Kamran was of the view that Pakistan

fully qualifies to have full access to civil nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, as it has acquired expertise, manpower and infrastructure to produce civil nuclear energy, which will create opportunities for economic development and will contribute in achieving peace & prosperity.

The pursuit of policies based on discrimination and double standards by some major international powers, has damaged the global nuclear non-proliferation regime.

Senator Sardar Ali Khan underscored the need for resolution of Kashmir and Palestine issues. Earlier, Gareth Evans presented a detailed overview of his report which has been prepared about nations having nuclear capabilities and the risks involved in developing nuclear warheads. He called for re-assessing the situation and minimizing the number of nuclear weapons. He shared details of the report with the participants through a comprehensive presentation and question-answer session. Senator Haji Muhammad Adeel, Senator Tahir Hussain Mashhadi, Sardar Ali Khan and Farhatullah Babar also expressed their point of view.



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SENATE SECRETARIAT

NAME OF NEWS PAPER: THE EXPRESS TRIBUNE
 PLACE OF PUBLICATION: ISLAMABAD
 DATE OF ISSUE: 25-10-13

Seminar

Nuclear deterrence doctrine has failed to curb wars: experts

Event held to mark launch of handbook on modern diplomacy

OUR CORRESPONDENT ISLAMABAD

It is time to rethink the utility of nuclear deterrence in South Asia and a "minimisation strategy" might be a good place to begin anti-nuclear advocacy efforts.

This was stated by Gareth Evans, the former Australian Foreign Minister at a book launch and seminar organised by the Institute of Strategic Studies (ISS) on Thursday. Evans said nuclear weapons are practically "unusable," both because of the

damage they might inflict in combat and the international taboo surrounding their use.

"Nuclear weapons are not deterring conventional attacks so where does the utility really lie?" said Evans, who has served on several international commissions including the 2008-10 Commission on Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament. "It is important in the South Asian context to rethink the extent to which security has really improved by possession of nuclear weapons."

He said the way forward is to advocate a minimum nuclear deterrence level in nuclear policies. "Let's get an agreement on no-first-use. Let's get serious on curbing



Ramesh Thakur

nuclear deployment," Evans said. "It is very tough to go to zero (nuclear weapons) but if we can minimise the number of nuclear weapons, that would make the world a lot safer."

Evans and Ramesh Thakur, director of the Centre for Nuclear Non-proliferation and Disarmament at Melbourne's Australian National University, were invited by ISS to speak about modern diplomacy to mark the launch of The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy. The book was missing in action — participants were given forms to pre-order the book from the Oxford University Press instead — but the discussion turned to substantive issues as participants engaged the speakers to talk about nuclear non-proliferation and coercive diplomacy.

Responding to a question about military interventions on humanitarian

"Responsibility to Protect" (R2P) is a 2005 UN initiative to prevent "mass atrocity crimes"

grounds, Thakur, who has been closely associated with the United Nations (UN) in the past, said "Responsibility to Protect" (R2P), a 2005 UN initiative to prevent "mass atrocity crimes," humanises diplomacy. Thakur said R2P's victim-centric view, its focus on prevention and its redefinition of sovereignty not as a right but as a responsibility are some of the ways the initiative puts focus on protecting people in conflict zones.

Evans said the criteria set by the R2P framework for military intervention worked well in the case of Libya. But then, he said, France, United Kingdom and the US — three of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council — "contemptuously" took matters into their own hands and went beyond the protection of civilians to carry out a regime change in Libya.

Evans said a consensus on the R2P has to be recreated in the Security Council and the three permanent members who defied it have to take responsibility.

The two Australia-based experts sounded as only people who have worked long enough to understand intri-



Gareth Evans

carities of global diplomacy and the UN system would sound; honest about the system's shortcomings, somewhat frustrated but defiant in the belief that the struggle to fix global problems must

continue.

Earlier, Thakur said the nature of modern diplomacy has changed from the traditional representational diplomacy to include other forms such as shuttle diplomacy, celebrity diplomacy, multilateral efforts and "blue ribbon" commissions.

Evans said a commission could be considered successful if it contributes to building consensus by providing normative outcomes that achieve policy actions or clarify policy agenda. Clarity of objectives, sound leadership, effectiveness consultations, follow-up advocacy, ownership and timing are some of the 10 factors Evans said he thinks contribute to a commission's success.



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SENATE SECRETARIAT

NAME OF NEWS PAPER: THE EXPRESS TRIBUNE

PLACE OF PUBLICATION: ISLAMABAD

DATE OF ISSUE:

26-10-13

NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION SEMINAR
Bombs have no religion: Mushahid



ISLAMABAD: Speakers at a seminar on nuclear non-proliferation dispelled the negative narrative about Pakistan's nuclear assets and called upon the West to shun double standards by promoting nuclear regimes of some states as essential for "safety" and pressurising others to end their nuclear programmes for "global security". The seminar was organised by the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production at Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services in Islamabad. Senator Mushahid remarked that those who call our atomic bomb as Islamic bomb must learn that bombs have no religion. "Gaining nuclear capability by Pakistan created a balance of power in South Asia," he said. Keynote speaker, former Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans called for re-assessing the situation and minimising the number of nuclear weapons. OUR CORRESPONDENT

*Cyber Security Workshop for
Journalists held on
November 18, 2013.*



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Minutes of Cyber Security Workshop for Journalists held on November 18, 2013

A workshop was held on **“CYBER SECURITY FOR JOURNALISTS”** on November 18, 2013, jointly organized by the Senate Committee on Defence and Defence Production, and Konrad Adenauer Stiftung at Pakistan Institute for Parliamentary Services (PIPS). The workshop was attended by journalists including reporters and editors of leading English and Urdu dailies of the country. Ronnie Heinne, resident representative of Konrad Adenauer Stiftung attended the workshop along with his team.

In his welcome and introductory address, Mr. Ronnie informed that Konrad Adenauer Stiftung (KAS) was established after the World War-II. For the last fifty years, the organization has been working for economic and social development of less developed countries. Ever since KAS established its office in Islamabad, he said, it has been working diligently in full cooperation with the Senate Committee on Defence and Defence Production. He explained that Germany and Pakistan have a history of deep and strong bilateral relationship; therefore, his organization is working with the Senate Committee for development of Pakistan. Commenting on the workshop, he said that cyber Security is going to play very important role in the coming years, and for journalists it is very important to learn techniques in collaboration with the experts on cyber security methods through which they can establish a secure cyber system for all users.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed welcomed all the journalists, stating that he hoped that with this initiative the journalists will play a proactive role which is why it is very important for them to learn the modern techniques about cyber security. Highlighting the role of the Defence Committee, the Chairman said that the committee is playing a very prominent role as a bridge between civil/military relations to strengthen democracy in the country; this is first time in the history of Pakistan that the standing committee is playing such an effective role. He explained that as the military, media and politicians are the most distinguished pillars of the society, it is necessary to harmonize all efforts and work together with each other. He further stated that after Wiki Leaks, telephone tapping has become frequent; even the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, has become one of its targets. He said that Pakistan is the number one spied country, followed by Iran and China which is why it is of utmost importance to understand the challenges first and then to prepare themselves for preventive measures; foremost of these would be the required legislation to overcome the cyber security issues.

The Senator revealed that a very useful and informative “Cyber Security Manual” has been prepared for specifically for journalists to make them aware of the various cyber security risks and mitigation steps; these were distributed to all the participants.

Dr. Shoaib Khan, eminent cyber expert also gave a detailed





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presentation to the audience. Emphasizing the significance of the issue, he stated the need of the hour to understand the connectivity between different elements, to identify the imminent threats and formulate a strategy through indigenization process. He stated that cyber-crimes are increasing day by day; many states are using techniques to launch cyber-attacks on adversaries while non-state actors, criminals and terrorists are also amongst the imminent users of such technologies. He said that the critical nature of the issue is evident from President Obama's following statement: "Cyber Security threat is the most serious among all economic and national security challenges we face as a nation."

While discussing strategy to counter cyber security issues, he proposed the following multi-pronged strategy:

- It is pertinent to establish national cyber security policy
- Computer Emergency Response Team (CERT) should be formulated.
- Cyber Laws must be established as legislation can play important role for containing such type of threats at national level.
- A dedicated network must be established for critical systems

Mr. Talha Habib, an eminent expert on cyber security,

shared different techniques which can be used by common users to improve their network usage. He emphasized the usage of encryption methods as by using this technique, everyone can achieve a safe and secure transfer of electronic messages.

In the last and concluding session, a number of participants raised their questions or recounted their experiences of cyber security.

The German Ambassador, Peter Halton, stated that awareness is increasing among the general public regarding cyber security through the ever growing usage of computers and related technologies. He was of the view that cyber security issues cannot be solved in isolation and cannot be addressed in individuality; therefore, it is necessary to formulate rules of access to ensure transparency. He further stated that cyber security crimes with respect to journalists are very important, for such threats which may damage the integrity of journalists, it is important to formulate obligations and ethical professionalism within the journalist community.

Ambassador Ali Sarwar Naqvi stated that the emerging role of the civil society is required to tackle such issues; if information is being used for evil purposes, it will be dangerous for everyone. He remarked that the manual presented by Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed will be very useful in this regard.

Senator Fasih Iqbal, Senator Saeeda Iqbal, Raja





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Muhammad Amin (former Secretary Senate Secretariat), Mr. Khan Ahmad Goraya (Executive Director, PIPS) and Mr. Habib Orakzai from FATA also shared their views and appreciated initiative of the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production. Mr. Orakzai particularly stated that IT and related facilities must also be available in FATA.

While concluding the session, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed thanked all the speakers, journalists and other audience participating in such an important national issue and expressed the hope that a series of similar sessions will be held in the years to come.



Press Clippings



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SENATE SECRETARIAT
(PR-Cell)

NAME OF NEWSPAPER: **EXPRESS**

PLACE OF PUBLICATION: **Islamabad**

DATE OF ISSUE: **19-11-13**



SENATE SECRETARIAT

Name of Newspaper: **DAILY NAI BAAT**

Place of Publication: **Islamabad**

Date of Issue: **19-11-13**





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Daily Jehan Pakistan Ibd.

Date: 19-11-13

سائبر سکیورٹی پر قانون سازی کی ضرورت ہے، مشاہد

سائبر انٹرسروس کمانڈر ضروری ہے، پارلیمنٹ کروا کر ادا کرے، سینیٹار سے خطاب



اسلام آباد (آن لائن) سینیٹ ڈیفنس کمیٹی کے چیئرمین مشاہد حسین نے کہا ہے کہ پاکستان میں سائبر سکیورٹی پر قانون سازی کی ضرورت ہے کیونکہ مستقبل میں سائبر سکیورٹی کے خطرات درپیش ہوں گے۔ انہوں نے کہا کہ اس پر سوچنا اور اس کی ضرورت ہے، پارلیمنٹ کو اس حوالے سے اپنا کردار ادا کرنا چاہئے اور سائبر انٹرسروس کمانڈر ضروری ہے۔ ان خیالات کا اظہار انہوں نے بیگم کوٹھڑی میں سہ ماہیوں کو سائبر سکیورٹی (باقی صفحہ 8 بجیہ نمبر 25)

25 مشاہد بجیہ

سے درپیش خطرات کے حوالے سے سینیٹار سے خطاب میں کیا۔ مشاہد حسین نے کہا کہ پاکستان کی تاریخ میں پہلی دفعہ سینیٹ کی ڈیفنس کمیٹی متحرک کروا کر رہی ہے کیونکہ ہم خاکی اور مٹی کے درمیان ہیں۔ کام کر رہے ہیں، فوج، سیاستدان اور میڈیا ملک کے اہم ستون ہیں، سب کو ساتھ لے کر چلانا ہے، انہوں نے کہا کہ امریکہ کے اہم اتحادی ملک جرمنی کی چائسلر مارشل کے ٹیلی فون بھی ٹیپ ہوتے ہیں، پاکستان افغانستان اور ایران کے ممالک ٹیلی فون ای سکیورٹی اور امریکہ مائیکروسافٹ سے جو پابندی تھوڑی ہے، جرمنی کی چائسلر نے امریکہ کو گوانٹانامو کے کی جیل بند کرنے کا کہا تھا، انہوں نے کہا کہ مستقبل میں ملکوں کی جنگیں سائبر کے ذریعے لڑی جائیں گے، بندہ نہیں اور توپوں کا نظام پرانا ہو چکا ہے

*Meeting with German Capstone
Course delegation held on
November 19, 2013*



SENATE OF PAKISTAN

Report of the Senate Committee on Defence

Meeting with German Capstone Course delegation held on November 19, 2013

A delegation of German Capstone Course met with Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, Chairman, Senate Committee on Defence and Defence Production on November, 19, 2013 at 3:00 pm in the Conference Room at Senate Secretariat of Parliament House, Islamabad. The delegation was headed by Mr. Rainer Schuwirth, Course Director, Federal Armed Forces Command and Staff College. It also included the following high ranking officers of the German Armed Force, enrolled in the Command and Staff College Course.

1. Lidsba, Achim Kurt Karl Alfred, Major General, Commandant Federal Armed Forces Command & Staff College.
2. Eitelhuber, Norbert, Lieutenant Colonel (G.S.), Seminar Leader Federal Armed Forces Command & Staff College.
3. Trapp, Bernd, Chief Master Sergeant, Course Secretary Federal Armed Forces Command & Staff College.
4. Engelke, Hans- George, Ministerialdirigent, Federal Ministry of Interior.
5. Dr. Schmidt, Stephan Andre, Brigadier General (Medical Corps), Armed Forces Medical Corps.
6. Kohlhaus, Lutz, Brigadier General, Airforce HQ.
7. Thomas, Volker Ernst Gerhard, Brigadier General, Commandant Logistic Brigade.
8. Dr. Huth, Rudiger Horst, Deputy Director, Federal Armed Forces
9. Dr. Kubart, Jan, Colonel, Commandant Airborne Brigade.
10. Gawellek, Colonel, Commandant Airborne Brigade
11. Dr. Baumgartner, Brigadier General (medical corps, Armed forces medical corps
12. Dr. Daum, Thomas, Rear Admiral lower half, Federal Armed Forces Office for Armament, Information Technology and use
13. Lind, Marit Monika Elfriede, Ministerialratin, Federal Ministry of Defence
14. Mosmann, Dietmar Alois, Colonel, Commandant Federal Armed Forces Signal and Command School Muller- Melnhard, Christoph Joachim, Captain, Federal Armed Forces Planning Office
15. Klein, Jorg, Captain (N), Federal Ministry of Defence
16. H.E. Dr. Cyrill Nunn, Ambassador of Germany in Pakistan.

Welcoming the delegation member, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed introduced the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production and its activities, particularly the recent visits to China and Turkey.





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While talking to the delegates, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed covered the following topics and later also answered the relevant questions raised by the delegates:

- Good mutual friendship and the formality- free relationship between Germany and Pakistan
- Importance of Hydrel-Berg University, as Dr. Allama Iqbal got education from that prestigious institute; presence of Iqbal Chair at the university shows the strong bond between two countries
- Civil- military and political relations within Pakistan special appreciation of General Kiyani's role. Military rule cannot solve the problems as we have learned this fact from number of repeated military rules powerful and influence free media consisting of about 50 TV channels and about 100 radio stations
- Independent judiciary
- Power of public opinion
- Strong and vibrant youth
- Stable and transparent NGOs

- Importance of national security challenges, both external and internal
- The problem of Kashmir and how regional peace rests on resolution of the issue
- Implications for Pakistan from the Afghan War and the great services of the country in peacefully hosting the world's largest population of refugees for the longest period of time
- Terrorism for which Pakistan has a paid heavy price, in terms of human casualties and financial losses
- Cyber Crimes
- Climate Change issues
- Strategic Stability of the region
- Relations with China
- The concept of an emerging "Greater South Asia"
- Drone attacks and their impact on Pak- US relations as well as regional peace

The meeting concluded after an intense and engaging discussion.



Press Clippings



SENATE OF PAKISTAN

Report of the Senate Committee on Defence

SENATE SECRETARIAT (PR-Cell)

NAME OF NEWSPAPER: JANG
PLACE OF PUBLICATION: Rawalpindi
DATE OF ISSUE: 20-11-13



NAME OF NEWSPAPER: NAWA-I-WAQT
PLACE OF PUBLICATION: Islamabad
DATE OF ISSUE: 20-11-13





SENATE OF PAKISTAN

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SENATE SECRETARIAT

(PR-Cell)

NAME OF NEWSPAPER:

EXPRESS

PLACE OF PUBLICATION:

Islamabad

DATE OF ISSUE:

20-11-13

انٹرنیٹ حملے قومی سلامتی کیلئے سنگین خطرہ ہیں، مشاہد حسین

ہوا کی طاقت بڑھنے کے ساتھ اداروں میں انٹرنیٹ سروسز پر سیکورٹی گمان کی شہرت سے مسئلہ انٹرنیٹ حملے کے بغیر جنوبی ایشیا میں امن ممکن نہیں، گلنگلو، جرنل و فوڈ کی ملاقات سے

مشاہد حسین
دعا ہے کہ ہمیں دنیا کی ہر جگہ امن، صلح و امان سے ہمیشہ ہمیں ملے۔

NAME OF NEWSPAPER:

KHABRAIN

PLACE OF PUBLICATION:

Islamabad

DATE OF ISSUE:

20-11-13

افغانستان کے مستقبل کا فیصلہ افغان عوام کا حق ہے، مشاہد حسین

افغانی عوام نے انٹرنیشنل میں سنگین شدت کے باوجود پھر اور ایک بار جرنل و فوڈ کی ملاقات سے

25 نومبر // مشاہد حسین
ماہ 2014ء میں افغانستان سے امریکی فوج کے انخلا کے بعد افغانستان کے مستقبل کا فیصلہ افغان عوام کا حق ہے۔



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SENATE SECRETARIAT

Name of Newspaper: DAILY ASAS

Place of Publication: Rawalpindi

Date of Issue: 20-11-13



اسلام آباد، سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

مشعل کشمیر حل کے بغیر امن کا خواب شرمندہ تعبیر نہیں ہو سکتا، مشاہد

بھارتی ادارے افغانستان کے ورہلے پاکستان کو بغیر مستحکم کرنے کے وارے ہیں

اسلام آباد (آن لائن) سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

104

شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

بھارتی ادارے افغانستان کے ورہلے پاکستان کو بغیر مستحکم کرنے کے وارے ہیں

اسلام آباد (آن لائن) سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

104

شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

بھارتی ادارے افغانستان کے ورہلے پاکستان کو بغیر مستحکم کرنے کے وارے ہیں

اسلام آباد (آن لائن) سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

Name of Newspaper: Pakistan

Place of Publication: Islamabad.

Date of Issue: 20-11-13

پاکستان میں بھارت مخالفانہ جذبات دم توڑ چکے ہیں، سینیٹر مشاہد

اقتصادی بحران، امن، سینیٹ اور تنظیم کے میدان میں بھارتیوں کا سامنا ہو گیا ہے

اسلام آباد (پاکستان ریسرچ) سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

سینیٹ کے ورہلے پاکستان کو بغیر مستحکم کرنے کے وارے ہیں

اسلام آباد (آن لائن) سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

29

شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

بھارتی ادارے افغانستان کے ورہلے پاکستان کو بغیر مستحکم کرنے کے وارے ہیں

اسلام آباد (آن لائن) سینیٹ کی وفاقی کمیٹی کے چیئرمین شیخ رحیم خان سے جرنلس کا انٹرویو کا کٹورا کاٹتے ہوئے

*Policy Seminar on
“Pakistan's Counter Terror Strategy:
What is to be done?”
held on November 25, 2013*



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Policy Seminar on “Pakistan's Counter Terror Strategy: What is to be done?” held on November 25, 2013.

The Chairman, Senate Defence Committee, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, organized a seminar called “Counter terror Strategy: What is to be done?” on November 25, 2013 at Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services (PIPS), Islamabad. The seminar was attended by Senator Farhatullah Babar, Senator Sardar Ali Khan, Senator Col. (R) Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi, Senator Haji Muhammad Adeel and Senator Saeeda Iqbal.

After the recitation of the Holy Quran, Senator Mushahid Hussain commenced the proceedings by warmly welcoming the guests including the distinguished member of the diplomatic community, security establishment, media and intelligentsia. He proceeded to introduce the panel of speakers; Mr Hasan Abass, professor and head of the department of Regional and Analytical Studies of National Defence University, Washington DC, and writer of a book and numerous articles; Mr. Tariq Pervaiz, former Chairman of NACTA and architect of Counter Terror Strategy; and Ambassador Seema Baloch, former High Commissioner of Pakistan in Sri Lanka who served when Pakistan actively participated in Sri Lanka's counter

insurgency. He also thanked Mr. Ronny Heine, Resident Representative of Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, for being partners in this initiative as well as in other initiatives of the Senate Defence Committee, e.g. “Cyber Security Manual and Workshop” for journalists. Mr. Hasan Abbas was then invited to speak.

Mr. Hasan Abbas started out by saying that he challenged anyone who claims that Pakistan does not have a Counter Terror Strategy, given the insurmountable sacrifices made by the officials of Police and Armed Forces. He emphasized on the importance of raising the right questions to develop the right understanding of the context, instead of grappling with the tactical aspects.

This is because, he stated, the issue is not of capacity building; the popular belief that Pakistan has not been able to tackle these challenges, whether it is suicide bombings or IEDs etc is not true. In comparison to Afghanistan, Iraq or any of the other countries, he pointed out, Pakistan has produced a number of people in its armed and security forces who are absolutely up to the mark and willing to go and fight out this challenge on every call.

He proceeded to expostulate on what could be the best model to deal with this nature of challenge, using, as a reference point, a study by a corporation called RAND





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which studied 678 different cases from 1968 to 2006; The findings of which were that about 40% of the cases were successfully tackled due to police and intelligence actions, another 40% successfully tackled due to successful negotiations that led to a peaceful resolution of conflict, about 7% of the cases were such that the military force ended terrorism related issues and there were at least 10% of the cases where terrorists won.

Based on this obvious international database, he argued that, in the international context, the rule of law is central to tackling any terrorist or insurgent movements and takes the shape of a law enforcement model.

Focusing on the law enforcement model, he stated that he believed that the only way Pakistan will be able to successfully defeat extremism, militancy and terrorism is through a law enforcement model. "By rule of law, they mean, within the context, a three pillar of a criminal justice system which consists of judiciary, policing and the prison system," he explained.

He then queried that if it is such an obvious correlation of effective policing and intelligence with dealing the terrorism related issues, then why have they not been able to do that? Is it lack of investment? Is it lack of political will? Is it that they just don't think that the policing are the best tool to deal with these issues because of lack of information, lack of knowledge or for that matter, denial? He argued that Pakistan has not been very successful in adopting the law enforcement model because there are some extremely serious challenges and obstacles to it.

He explained the biggest challenges in adopting law enforcement model are structural issues; the law enforcement infrastructure in Pakistan is divided between the federal government and the provincial governments in such a fashion that they, at times have a lot of knowledge, a lot of information, but that is not utilized.

In the federal structure, there are 19 different law enforcement agencies (e.g. of NACTA, Motorway Police, Frontier Corps, Intelligence Bureau, Islamabad Police etc.)





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while in the provincial structure, there are all four different police services, and now additional ones for Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan. He stated that the biggest obstacle has been the coordination of the entire infrastructure.

Recounting the historical trend, he said that the British had used policing, not to establish a rule of law system but to only ensure law and order control and this has been true for all colonial and imperial cases. He gave the example of Iraq where, whether it comes to European Union or United States, the prime interest was not to necessarily build a rule of law system, but to control the situation. He said that this is very problematic because unless the rule of law system is not linked to the policing system, then net result may be peace, some stability and convenience but for a short duration hence the purpose will be defeated.

He further said that this is actually a political issue, in the sense that police has been engaged in protocol duties, crushing protests etc., forgetting often that the prime purpose of the police is not to provide security on the street or to the elite; instead, it is to investigate and prevent crimes, to analyze issues from pure law enforcement angle and to develop evidence. He argued that contrary to the practice in Pakistan where a police officer has military approach, i.e., there is intelligence information about a police officer so just bring them down; as opposed to this,

the standard approach is to first see if the intelligence is credible by doing basic surveillance and then once credibility has been achieved, the target can be investigated and interrogated in the court of law. This, he said, is the law enforcement model.

Furthermore, he said that the issue is also about technological incapacity due to lack of investment in forensic laboratories and other scientific modes of investigations which is why the police use force and abuse in interrogation, and an institutional culture which is marked by posting police officers to Baluchistan or training academies as a punishment if they take a stand on principle against their superiors. He argued that the day Pakistan should start investing heavily in the training of its police officers, instead of viewing it as a form of punishment.

Giving out recommendations, Mr. Abbas listed the following:

- 1) There should be coordination between law enforcement agencies where a lot of data is available
- 2) Structural issues must be resolved; there must be balance of power between different agencies
- 3) There should be a witness protection system as witnesses are widely targeted which discourages





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- people to report or testify a crime
- 4) Investment in resources and technical know-how of the police

In conclusion, he said the media will have to supplement effort of the law enforcing agencies and ensure that they receive their due. He identified the real challenge as lack of political will and public will in ensuring a comprehensive implementation of the law enforcement model.

The chairman thanked Mr. Abbas and invited Ms. Seema Baloch to share her thoughts.

Ms. Seema Baloch recounted the historical back drop of Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), which, she explained, emerged in the 1970s as one more of the more than 30 Tamil separatist movements, led by the Vellapillai Prabhakaran, a man with a brilliant mind and immense charisma; the LTTE wanted a separate homeland, Eelam, created in the North and East of Sri Lanka. She said that the Sri Lanka's Tamils are part of the ancient Dravidian race of 2000 years ago and hence are distinct from the South Indian Tamils who migrated when Sri Lanka was colonized as Ceylon; the Tamils eventually multiplied to become 13

percent of the population of Sri Lanka against a majority of Buddhist Sinhalese. The seeds of tension between the two ethnic groups, she stated, were sown during the colonization of Ceylon that have nourished since its independence. She identified the presence of 66 million Tamils in the Indian State of Tamil Nadu as well as a huge expat community in the west as a major challenge for the Sri Lankan leadership which had a great impact on the conflict. The ethnic conflict, she narrated, began in 1983 when the Tamil Tigers killed 13 army men (13 soldiers) with the use of IEDs which resulted in an intense Sinhalese backlash that led to riots; the Tigers, led by a ruthless Prabhakaran, unleashed a reign of terror which lasted for over 26 years and claimed 80,000 to 100,000 lives. During this time, she explained, there were periods called Eelam wars interspersed with ceasefire and agreements mostly brokered by outsiders including India and Norway; however, the LTTE thrived on a policy of using ceasefire to regroup and to rearm and thus, "the stop, go, stop" policy of successive Sri Lankan Governments favoured the insurgents.

She pointed out that it was only when Mahinda Rajapaksa, a man who more than matched the brilliance and the





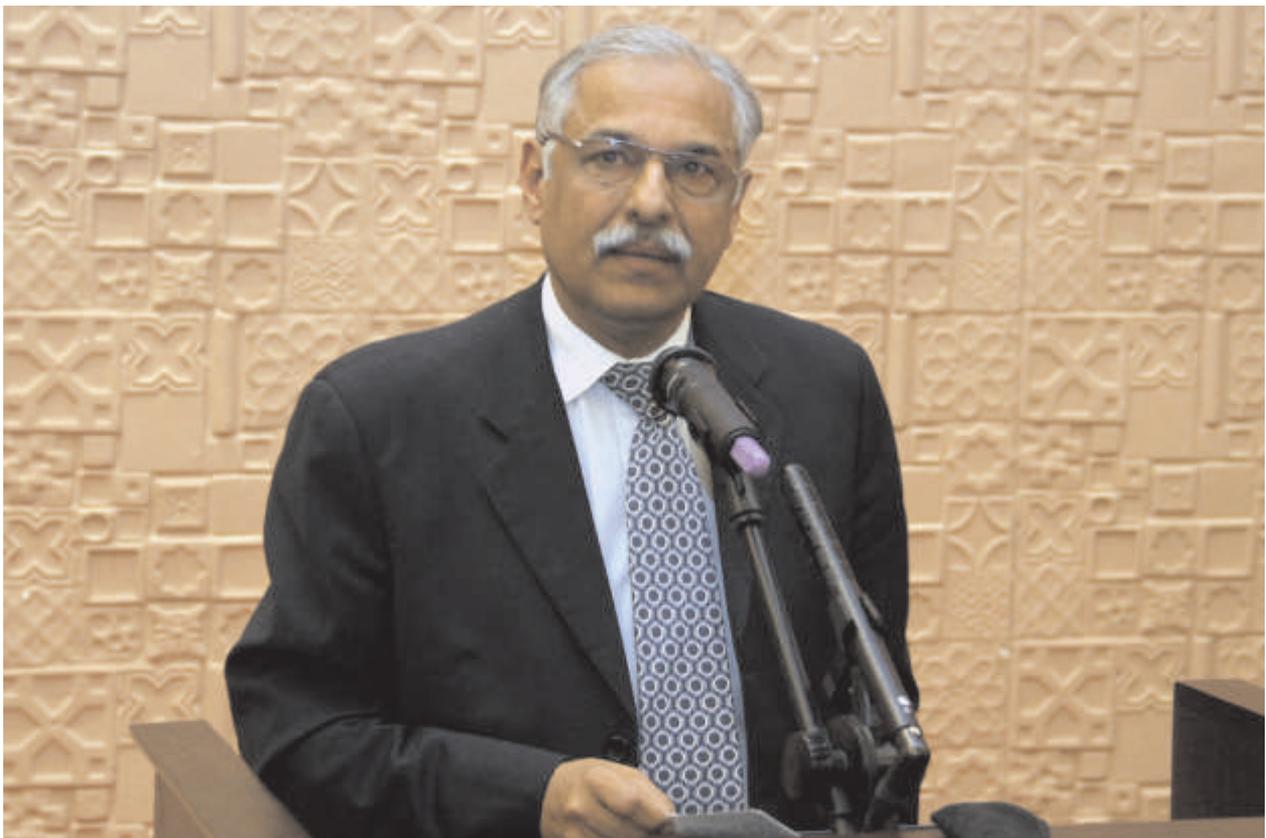
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charisma of Prabhakran, came to lead Sri Lanka that the tide started turning against LLTE; in 2005, Prabhakran controlled almost a third of Sri Lanka and had also created a Navy and an Air Force with the funding from the Tamil Diaspora, but in 2009, Sri Lankan Army announced that the LLTE leader Prabhakran was killed. One of the most effective terrorist organizations in the world, she said, was dismantled within 30 months; an organization, which had introduced and perfected the use of suicide bombers, exactly from which Pakistan is suffering today.

She elucidated on the following factors which enabled Sri Lanka to achieve this remarkable feat:

- 1) The political will and the determination of President Mahinda Rajapaksa along with his team of committed individuals and his maneuvers to unite the nation in this fight which ended terrorism. His strategy to unite the nation was manifested in different ways e.g. by instructing the army to remain passive despite increase LLTE attacks on civilians which built antipathy toward the Tiger, and by overtly defying the West motivated nationalist elements which helped to unite the Sinhalese majority
- 2) The tough decision by the President that military defeat of Tigers was the only solution, after the realization that efforts and negotiations in political reconciliation had only prolonged the conflict. According to some reports there were 21 attempts at negotiations and according to the Government of Sri Lanka, the Tamil Tigers violated the ceasefires 10 thousand times
- 3) The President won the loyalties of Opposition Parliamentarians by giving them ministries, consolidating his support, muting calls for political reconciliation and once confident that the majority of the Parliament was with him, he ensured that the civilian Government elected by the people and the armed forces shared the same goal of defeating the Tigers
- 4) The President associated himself very closely with the armed forces, holding the post of Defence Minister and therefore, personally attended all the weekly meetings of the National Security Council, and appointed his brother as a Defence Secretary. The crucial posts held with the two brothers ensured





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- greater coordination between the political and the military leadership.
- 5) It embarked on the crash program improving its military and economic capability, the Army was expanded to deliver on the strategy of “clear and hold”. Sri Lanka accepted assistance in any form and in any quantity and from anyone, from the Americans, from the Indians, from Israel, from China and of course, from Pakistan; the most decisive factor was significant military and economic aid from China. The military budget shows by 40% and the size of the Army increased by 70% which upgraded the military capabilities tremendously. There was an excellent demonstration of a well-coordinated Tri-Services Operation with the Navy strangling the hold of LLTE on trade of arms and drugs and blocking logistic support, the Sri Lankan Government launched a major offensive with expanded forces, a restructured and properly trained military, the Air Force engaged the pockets of stiff resistance and accurate human intelligence annihilated the LLTE headquarters, vital installations and logistic bases. The Tigers retreated into the reducing territory till they were cornered. Prabhakran was killed and the Tigers were defeated.
 - 6) It is also important to know that the success of the Government is also attributed to the fact that the Sri Lankan army used unconventional tactics. In the past

LLTE was known for conducting quick strikes against larger army units and then withdrawing before the army's fire power began. The Sri Lankan Army adopted combat tactics of counterinsurgency warfare. It did not seek decisive engagement with the LLTE forces instead small army units utilized signals intelligence to surprise the LLTE, also to strengthen the Police, a Special Military Arm was created called the Special Task Force to counter terrorist activities and this STF; a valuable military assistance to the army specially during the last phase of the war.

- 7) The Sri Lankan Government exercised iron control over the media especially during the fourth and final phase of the war; a well regulated media contributed to the success of the Government. Measures taken were wide ranging - requests from the President not to impede the war efforts to enforced self-censorship in the private media, hate literature and videos were quietly banned as well as harsher measures like disappearances of journalists and leading personalities to neutralize dissidents, dramas, and interviews, talk shows, revealed the atrocities committed by the Tigers. The Government used the media to project its own aims and also established a media center for National Security. In effect, the Government dominated the entire information space so, that Sri Lanka's military approach could not be





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- challenged
- 8) Despite the conflict, Sri Lanka's economy demonstrated a 5% growth due to a vibrant private sector. The economy started suffering losses during the last phase of the war which was 2006 to 2009 but despite the losses of the economy, the political leaderships remained firm in its resolve with the long term vision of bringing peace to Sri Lanka. In addition the Government vigilantly scrutinized any inflow of cash, it tightened its hold on the financial sector and imposed banking regulations mainly to monitor the funds coming into the Tigers
 - 9) President Rajapaksa strengthened bilateral relationships with countries like China and Russia to reduce western pressure which was being propelled by the Tamil Diaspora. He secured India's tacit support through effective back channel diplomacy ensured that India stood aside while the LLTE was finally defeated. As the conflict drew to a close, Sri Lanka was under further pressure to agree to a ceasefire by western countries. Sri Lanka's application for a loan from the IMF met with resistance. Human Rights groups and civil rights clamored for respect of human right and humanitarian law, there was an attempt to condemn the Government's military offensive by tabling a resolution at the Human Rights Council at Geneva.

President Mahinda Rajapaksa stood firm and absorbed the pressure at the political level while the military offensive continued

- 10) Involuntary events like 9\11 changed world perception of terrorism while the tsunami also contributed to the collapse of the Tigers as the damage was most extensive in areas controlled by them. There were allegations of corruption against them in utilizing aid. The tigers were also exposed for recruiting orphans from the Tsunami and making them into child soldiers. As international condemnation grew, the EU prescribed the LTTE as a terrorist organization, freezing its assets in 27 member nations. The US also designated it as a foreign terrorist organization.
- 11) Another setback suffered by LTTE was defection by its Eastern Commander in 2004. Interestingly he was made Chief Minister by President Rajapaksa of the Eastern Province after that.

In conclusion, she pointed out the defeat of the LTTE as a result of cumulative internal and external factors but the driving force was the political will of one man supported by a team of committed individuals with a coherent and shared goal.

Mr. Chairman observed that Ms. Seema gave them a lot of





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food for thought on how to do things and to be loyal to the objectives. He then called upon Mr. Tariq Pervez for his presentation.

Mr. Tariq Pervez started out by making two points as follows. Firstly, the prevailing environment is important for the performance of the counterterrorism institutions and to be very clear on all fundamental issues e.g. whose war is it, who is a martyr etc.

He explained three qualities that the nation must have before taking on the terrorists: clarity, courage and commitment to take on the terrorist.

He highlighted four major areas of concerns in the national counterterrorism effort.

- 1) The ad hoc approach as there is no comprehensive counterterrorism strategy.
- 2) The effort is fragmented between the provinces, intelligence agencies and law enforcement agencies, different ministries.
- 3) The response is lopsided and fixated on capture or kill approach with no consideration to the breeding process which is critical in counterterrorism process
- 4) The lack of research and a general culture of relying on anecdotes, stories etc rather than actual research

on questions of what are the radicalizing factors in Pakistan? Which are the radicalizing groups or networks? What are the conveyer belts?

He further said that there is a need for a national focal institution to integrate and orchestrate the national counterterrorism effort and that is where NACTA, which stands for National Counterterrorism Authority, plays a role. He explained that according to the Act, some of the major objectives of NACTA are;

- (i) To prepare a national counterterrorism strategy
- (ii) An action plan to monitor the action plans
- (iii) To coordinate intelligence among different agencies and to disseminate to the users and users
- (iv) To carryout research and to liaise with the international entities

He also pointed out the fact the law itself was passed in 2013 after a lapse of 4 years while in the last five years, NACTA has had seven heads and for many months, NACTA is headed by the number two man, which means NACTA is without a regular head.

Answering why NACTA is ineffective, Mr. Tariq Pervez highlighted the issue of political involvement. He said that there was a strong difference of opinion between him and





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the Interior Minister; the latter believed that NACTA should be under the Interior Ministry since law and order is the responsibility of the Interior Ministry while his own point of view was that if you want NACTA to be effective and not just any other bureaucratic organization drawing funds, filling up vacancies from the Government, then it has to be controlled by the Prime Minister. He explained that is because the basic role of NACTA was to coordinate intelligence and the counterterrorism efforts and thus, coordination of powerful stakeholders like intelligence agencies, the four provincial governments and different ministries; all these stakeholders were only willing to coordinate and play an effective role the control of NACTA would be with the Prime Minister. Another reason highlighted by him was that since NACTA's role was to monitor the action plans, then the Ministry of Interior, being a stakeholder in the action plan, could not also have control of it for the sake of impartiality. He informed the audience that he was informed by the government that NACTA would be put under the Prime Minister, but plans were changed, however interestingly, the previous Government passed the Ordinance (on the basis of the draft which he had sent earlier in 2009) in 2013, just before the end of their tenure, may be with the intention of throwing the ball to the next Government.

The present Government's position, he elucidated, was

that according to the law, the NACTA was responsible to the Prime Minister but there were certain points of view within the present Government that it should be with the Ministry of Interior; thus, a notification was issued which gave the operational control of NACTA to the Prime Minister but administrative control of NACTA to the Ministry of Interior. He said that this is neither here nor there and adds to the confusion.

He stated NACTA is a sound concept and has across-the-board support including the EU, USA and UK.

He suggested that a professionally competent and experienced head of NACTA must be selected and he should be given a free hand.

In conclusion, he said that the time has come for NACTA to be fully empowered and in order to achieve this everyone must rise above their personal interests.

Mr. Chairman lauded the three presenters from three persons and opened the floor for discussion. Senator Afrasiab Khattak said that counterterrorism strategy was not evolved in time in Pakistan because of two political reasons: firstly, the nation remained in denial for a very long time which is why no laws were framed, no high security prisons or forensic laboratories and





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investigation etc., and secondly, there is no clarity as to what is the policy of the state on jihad, Taliban and militants. He added that it is important to come out with a counter narrative as the militant narrative is still predominant.

Senator Farhatullah Babar endorsed Prof. Hassan Abbas' point that this is not the question of capacity, it is the question of policy and said that he agrees that the capacity is there as he armed forces, police, civilian law enforcement agencies have demonstrated that they possess the will, commitment and courage to fight the militants. He said that there is an illusion that there can be some non-state actors which the country should protect and defend because they will be helpful in advancing the country's security, foreign policy and political agendas. He said that this discussion is important in the backdrop of the bilateral security agreement between Afghanistan and USA, which has been endorsed by the *Loya Jirga* comprising of thousands of people and thus, for the first time now, the entire Afghan nation is united. The second important development, he highlighted, was that Iran has agreed to sign with the Western Powers an agreement on "limiting or the oversight of its nuclear programme" which should be a message to the *Gairat Brigade* in Pakistan who believes that they can have some militants and extremists who can be used to advance our foreign policy and security agendas. Lastly he said that the security agencies must have the powers to arrest and detain but at the same time, they must operate within the bounds of law subject to some minimal oversight of the Parliament, and one way forward is to bring them under the ambit of the law, to expedite the adoption, to expedite the operationalization of the report of the Human Rights Committee which has already been adopted by the Senate.

Senator Col. (R) Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi said that this is a defining moment as they, as a nation, have lost their moorings. According to the words of Quaid-i-Azam, this nation was a 'liberal, tolerant, and democratic'. He said today there are human fiends, and barbaric hordes that are the rebellion against the true idea of Pakistan. He said the political leaders must be speak out against these people and recognize them for who they are. He said that political will is crucial to counter-terrorism as it had been proven in Sri Lanka, China etc.

General Asad Durrani said that organizations and so and so forth for counterterrorism are all very important but his experience has taught him that these measures only win

time that contain a situation while the actual counterterrorism is about finding the root causes of grievances and addressing them. He also said that it's about good governess, human rights, law enforcement and creating a favourable environment for the soft approach which is the political approach, i.e., doing something about people who are aggrieved and alienated, and doing their utmost, however if it doesn't work then they can launch their hammer approach. He also stated that it is important to include a representative from the terrorists so that they can also hear their point of view.

Madam Sameera Mashiuddin introduced herself as an advocate with experience as a criminologist and anthropologist who worked with a number of law enforcement and security training institutions. She said that the real problem is political expediency and interests, citing examples of Maulana Abdul Aziz of Lal Masjid, who despite having declared war against the state and holding criminal record, was allowed to file an application in Islamabad High Court and was given prime time on GEO Capital talk, and *Anjuman-e-Sepha-e-Sahaba*, who despite being banned in 2002 were holding a demonstration in G-9 sector of Islamabad.

Gen. Talat Mehsood observed that they have a conceptual problem to begin with, and there is confusion on the nature and vision of Pakistan which is reflected in how they deal with the Taliban or their friends or their enemies. He stressed on the importance of being very clear as to exactly what is their concept of Pakistan which is the fundamental issue. Additionally, he said that there is also the question of policy and significance of having a comprehensive counterterrorism policy, public support, a strong narrative on what is going on and understanding of root causes of terrorism e.g. illiteracy, underdevelopment and lack of empowerment of people. He also stated that it is a very complex problem but unfortunately, the response by the leadership has been just the opposite because they neither understand the problem, nor do they have the political will, nor do they have the courage and the spine to face and overcome the challenge. He said these discussion help in educating the public about the dangers confronting them, stressing that the nature of the state is changing but they should not allow that to happen that easily so they must stand up to that.

Senator Sardar Ali Khan discussed two points, the military budget and the rise in the recruitment of the Army as major contributors to the success of the Sri Lankan campaign.



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He said that he has an altogether different version of what is going on in Pakistan, i.e. he believed that this is a foreign funded and well planned war that has been enforced on them. He explained that the war being waged in a systematic manner on their western border, from Swat to Lower Dir, Bajour, Mohmand and Khyber, by first eliminating the FATA leaders and concealing the activities by carrying out kidnappings and suicide bombings. He noted that they did not create whatever is happening in Pakistan as the root cause is from Afghanistan; however, the Pakistani government has endeavoured to successfully quell the insurgencies in the last few years with valour and determination.

Senator Haji Muhammad Adeel said that the Armed forces ask for political will and support to fight, political government is confused, religious and pro-Talban shout “long live Mulla Umer” and he, himself, says “Pakistan Zindabad.”

Admiral (Retd.) Tasneem said that nothing will happen unless reforms are made and these people are educated. He stated one of the reasons why terrorists get away is that judiciary and witnesses are given threatening calls. With reference to the Lal Masjid, he questioned that since the Lal Masjid people fought the Pakistan army for seven days then where did the arms come from?

Mr. Ammar Jaafri highlighted the presence of terrorists in cyber and hence the challenge is to not only combat terrorists in the real world but also in the virtual world, which is why many advanced countries have already invested in it; they have prepared cyber warriors and cyber armies. He said terrorists are using the cyber space just like they all do hence it is important to have cyber security and policy in place.

Mr. Akram Zaki commended Senator Mushahid Hussain in highlighting the need for having a counterterrorism policy. He said that he believed that terrorism is the product of injustice which has internal causes, from within Pakistan, as well as external causes, from their neighbours and friends from afar. He said Quaid-e-Azam's vision for “Pakistan” was that it would be a moderate, progressive state for the Muslims; those who opposed Pakistan's concept, they, when Pakistan was established, invaded it, shifted their headquarters into Pakistan and tried to subvert the philosophy of Pakistan, and became a dominant force so much so that the fanatical philosophy, which was not Pakistan's philosophy, was made the

prevalent philosophy of Pakistan. This, he said, is the internal foundation of terrorism.

Recounting history, he said that Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto invited people like Hikmatyar and others to create trouble for Afghanistan; such people were further nurtured by Zia-ul-Haq by enlisting an army of *mujahideen* for their external friends who, after using them, branded them as terrorists. In this way, he pointed out, Pakistan created a monster which, when banned by international forces, could not be exported to Afghanistan or India and thus, became an uncontrollable trouble for us as they are politically protected by extremists lobbies in Pakistan, and India is also supporting them in order to create trouble on Pakistan's Western borders which it cannot do on the Eastern side due to nuclear deterrence.

Ms. Asia Riaz of PILDAT addressed the issue of the civil-military balance in Pakistan and said that it is important to answer the questions of why they lack coordination and where is the control on issues of security. She said that there has been a military might, the ascendancy and primacy of military in their policy making, especially when with regards to security. She explained that it is important to define and institute democratic civil military relations in order to constitute a counter terrorism policy.

Mr. Mateen Haider, a representative of media, said that media should also discourage sympathizers of militants by not giving them any space and there should be minimum coverage of attacks by terrorists or militants. He gave his full support to the initiatives by Senator Mushahid Hussain.

Mr. Irshad (guest) argued that prejudices must be removed for an effective counter terrorism policy which must be one for all e.g. what was the basis of killing Nawab Akbar Bugti, and all players in the chain of terrorism must be punished, not simply the actor. He also questioned how a counter terrorism policy can be adopted, how non-state actors will be dealt and how will the state reject the unanimous resolution of parliament on carrying out dialogue with the militants.

Ali (guest) underscored the importance of having a voice from the other side too in order to have a balanced discussion. He said if the solution lies in having a law enforcement model, then the terrorists should be allowed to defend themselves before they are condemned for the killing.



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Mr. Hassan Abbas agreed that the rule of law model has to be for the terrorists also; there is absolutely no justification whether in the Islamic law, in the Sharia law or in the modern western secular law, that any person, who is not given a right to defend themselves, can be condemned.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Syed thanked the participants for attending the seminar. He emphasized that Senate Defence Committee is a democratic platform which respects all points of view and is committed to raising public awareness and discussions on issues of national interests.

Press Clippings



SENATE OF PAKISTAN
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SENATE SECRETARIAT
(PR-Cell)

Name of Newspaper: Pakistan
Place of Publication: Islamabad.
Date of Issue: 26-11-2013



NAME OF NEWSPAPER: JANG
PLACE OF PUBLICATION: Rawalpindi
DATE OF ISSUE: 26-11-2013



*Policy Seminar on “Pakistan in 21st Century:
Defence, Development & Democracy”
(Book Launch of Pamela Constable's 'Playing
with Fire' held on
January 3, 2014*



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Policy Seminar on “Pakistan in 21st Century: Defence, Development & Democracy” (Book Launch of Pamela Constable's 'Playing with Fire' held on January 3, 2014

A Policy Seminar on the subject “Pakistan in 21st Century: Defence, Development & Democracy” was organized by the Senate Standing Committee on Defence & Defence Production on 3rd January, 2014 at PIPS Auditorium, Islamabad.

The Seminar started with the recitation of Holy Quran. Additional Secretary Senate, Mr. Sharifullah Khan Wazir, welcomed the honorable Senators, diplomats, journalists and the distinguished guests. He invited the Chairman Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production, Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed, to formally inaugurate the Seminar.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed stated that the Senate Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production focuses on out of the box approach in developing some very useful ideas concerning national security, defence and development. Public hearings and policy seminars have, therefore, been conducted frequently by the committee, sometimes even inviting foreign executives, he

said. Mentioning recent activities, the Senator informed the audience that the committee facilitated a dialogue on Cyber Security Policy and Strategy.

On taking the floor, Ms. Pamela introduced her new book “Playing with Fire”. She said Pakistan is considered as one of the most overanalyzed country but she believed there was still more to explore and explain. She read a passage from the introductory part of her book. She apprised also the audience that while covering the news from Pakistan since the time of General Mushraff, she observed the frustration, hopes, fears and admiration of Pakistanis, and also witnessed the various forces that shaped the lives and opinions of the people of Pakistan. She observed the feeling of powerlessness and victimization due to the gap between the people and the government, the love-hate relationship with the West and the rise of the militant Islam. Moreover, she said that Muhammad Ali Jinnah is hero of the nation but “Jinnah's Pakistan” has long ceased to exist; people of Pakistan yearn for Jinnah's principles to be enforced again in the country. Finally, she said, she sought to add her voice as a warning of the self-destructive course taken by Pakistan so that the promise of Jinnah's Pakistan would never be swept away.

The speakers were invited to share their views about the book “Playing with Fire” by Ms. Pamela Constable.





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Mr. Ayaz Amir appreciated the book as one of the best examples on reporting. He said that the book explained complex things in simple ways; it gives a grim and earnest picture of Pakistan today. He found the chapters on Sufism and Talibanization as commendable, but at the same time, he argued, the book could have covered more historical background as Pakistan had been a victim of a larger geography. The land of Pakistan is ancient with very old problems which, he explained, have shaped its society in a complex manner over the course of centuries. He wished that the Afghan crisis of 1970s and Pakistan's involvement in the crisis as a willing actor could have also have been incorporated and analyzed in the book.

Dr. Fouzia Saeed, a social activist and columnist in Pakistan, said the book has identified significant issues, with many references to the existence of patriarchy. She said reading the book is like looking at one's own reflection in the mirror as it makes the reader realize the reality and then change its worse aspects. She said that while reading the book she was in search of an analysis from which one can change Pakistan's future. She explained the journey of reading the book during which the reader confronts the issue, admits it, goes through the analysis and finally finds areas of improvement.

Senator Aitzaz Ahsan remarked that Pakistanis should read

the book as it provides oversight into several issues being faced by Pakistan. He admired her writing style, lucid yet loaded with events. He appreciated the precision in Pamela's writing, as can be observed by the choice of chapter names, which are mostly in a single word. He said the book defines and describes Pakistani society definitely. He seconded Ayaz Amir's viewpoint that there were more contemporary issues discussed in the book, as compared to historical events which are the former's roots. He wished that the book had also analyzed Pakistan's transformation from a welfare state right after partition to a security state by 1960s.

Ms. Pamela responded to the questions raised by the audience. She read a paragraph from her book for the audience. Explaining the methodology of collecting information, she said that there are physical and geographical limits for a foreigner but she interviewed as many people as she could.

Responding to the criticism of lacking historical background in the book, she said as a journalist she can write about the present but she has tried to learn the history as much as she could. She informed the audience that the book was twice as long when initially written, covering some aspects of history. She remarked that one cannot put everything in every book.





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In another question she said that US has made a lot of mistakes over the years such as wrong choice of friends, however, in the face of competing interests, identifying and choosing a lesser evil is difficult. She explained to the audience that she wrote the book with hope; there are positive aspects mentioned such as the role of media, youngsters and civil society.

Senator Mushahid Hussain Sayed remarked the session as a stimulating experience which is at the level of one of the most prominent Standing Committee of the Parliament. He said that the purpose of the parliament and the parliamentary committees is to instill and generate thought processes at the appropriate levels of the society. Commenting on the book, he said that the two criticisms of the book have been well founded.

Lacking of a broader historical context which was partly responsible for shaping the behavior and attitudes of people and the policies of Pakistan.

- Seeing Pakistan from a limited perspective as there is a lot happening in Pakistan. Therefore one should also observe Pakistan considering the role of media, civil society and women today.

Finally he said that the process of maturity is constantly taking place and Pakistan is now moving towards a certain positive direction.

Press Clippings



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SENATE SECRETARIAT

NAME OF NEWS PAPER: THE EXPRESS TRIBUNE

PLACE OF PUBLICATION: ISLAMABAD

DATE OF ISSUE: 04-01-2014

Construing nationhood

Casting a critical lens at the security situation and political culture

Speakers at a seminar chart institutional progress in the country

OUR CORRESPONDENT
ISLAMABAD

One of the indubitable strengths of Pakistanis is their resilience, their interminable will to combat challenges and overcome them.

This was said by Senate Standing Committee on Defence Chairman Senator Mushahid Hussain on Friday. Hussain was speaking at a seminar, "Pakistan in 21st Century: Defence, Development and Democracy," which also served as a platform for the book launch of "Playing with Fire" at the Pakistan Institute of Parliamentary Services.

In his welcome note, Hussain said, "Many of our national failings are attributable to being trapped in an outmoded mindset and this is what we are trying to change."

He concluded on a positive note by highlighting the five recent transitions that took place, including newly-elected governments, a new army chief and chief justice. "These were wholly independent transitions, beautifully executed and this is where the hope comes from." Pakistan is definitely moving ahead in the right direction, he added.



BOOK LAUNCH: Senator Mushahid Hussain speaks at a seminar defence development and democracy. PHOTO: EXPRESS

A senior correspondent of The Washington Post and author of "Playing with Fire," Constable discussed her book which presents an analysis of the various paradoxes and conflicts confronting Pakistan, which encompass the military establishment, Taliban, politicians, Sufis and shrines, poignantly graduating downwards to the common man and his expectations, lack of trust in the system and a sense of powerlessness and alienation. "This schism between the people and the state is the reason why radical Islam has gained popular appeal in the country," she said.

With reference to Constable's book, columnist Ayaz Amir commented that the book beautifully accounts for the reasons for the deterioration of the state, however, a holistic historical narrative

"This schism between the people and the state is the reason why radical Islam has gained popular appeal in the country

The Washington Post correspondent
Pamela Constable

of the centuries of chaos following the decline of the Mughal era could elucidate the subject. He said Pakistan is a victim of its larger geography which entangled it in the war against the Soviets, the current fallout being a direct consequence.

Drawing upon patriarchy in Pakistani society, as highlighted by the author, civil society activist Fouzia Saeed stated that this mindset was

also rooted in fundamentalism. However, she expressed her optimism in the processes of change which are under way, arguing that analyses like Constable's are crucial for initiating them.

The concise reporting style of Constable's book was also appreciated by Senator Aitzaz Ahsan, as it presented a collage of episodes from wide-ranging happenings of recent years. Elaborating on the topic, he highlighted the gradual yet definitive conversion of Pakistan from a welfare state in 1947, to a national security state by the 1960s.

He also appreciated the part played by civil society in actively making inroads for change, as well as the role of democratic institutions, the judiciary and people, which would ultimately succeed in establishing the rule of law.

Profile of Committee Members



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Mushahid Hussain Sayed

Education:

- Bachelor of Arts from Forman Christian College, Lahore.
- Master of Science in Foreign Service (MSFS) from School of Foreign Service of Georgetown University, Washington D.C.

Organizations:

- President, Punjab University International Affairs Society, 1973.
- President, Pakistan Students Association in America, 1974-75.
- Co-Chairman, Conference of the Non-Aligned Media (NAMEIA), 1993.
- Member of Federal Cabinet, served as Minister for Information and Culture, 1997-1999.
- Founder/Chairman, Islamabad Policy Research Institute (IPRI), 1998.
- Member, Commission of Eminent Persons, Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC), one of 15 persons nominated by their respective governments to reform the OIC, 2004-05.
- Chairman, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, 2004-2009.
- Secretary General, Pakistan Muslim League, 2005 onwards.
- Elected Member of Eminent Persons Group of Think-Tanks of the Islamic World, during meeting in Baku, Azerbaijan, March 2012.
- Chairman, Pakistan-China Institute, 2009 onwards.
- Secretary General, Centrist Asia-Pacific Democrat International (CAPDI).
- Special Rapporteur, International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP).

Award and Honours:

- Awarded Congressional internship by the US Congress in Washington, Summer of 1974.

- Represented Georgetown University at the prestigious Student Conference on US Affairs (SCUSA), US Military Academy, West Point, November 1973, and the Naval Academy Foreign Affairs Conference (NAFAC), April 1974.
- Youngest Editor at age 29, of any major national English daily in the region, as Editor of "The Muslim".
- Leader of Pakistan Delegation to the United Nations Human Rights Commission, Geneva, 1993.
- Declared 'Prisoner of Conscience' by Amnesty International, world's leading human rights organization as political prisoner without any charge for 440 days.
- Awarded the Congressional Medal of Achievement by the House of Representatives of the Republic of Philippines, January 2006.
- Awarded Honorary Doctorate by the Royal Academy of Cambodia in Political Science, 2010.
- Awarded The Star of Achievement for Service to Humanity by the International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP), 2011.
- Received highest Cambodian award, Grand Order of the Kingdom of Cambodia, for contribution to Asian causes, May 2011.
- Received the 2013 Tsinghua University Award for "Outstanding Contribution to Public Diplomacy" for his role in promoting Pakistan-China people-to-people contacts as Chairman, Pakistan-China Institute.

Current Status:

- Author of 3 books on Pakistan's Foreign Policy and domestic politics as well as issues of governance.
- Currently a Senator, Member of Parliament. Chairman, Senate Committee on Defence and Defence Production.
- Member, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Standing Committee on Rules of Privileges, Function Committee on Human Rights, Senate Finance Committee, Parliament Committee on National Security and Parliamentary Committee on Kashmir.

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Chaudhry Shujat Hussain

Position: Senator

Party Affiliation: PML

Gender: Male

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Mobile Phone: 0321-4471123, 0300-5264291

Fax: 051-2262221

Province: Punjab

Address: H.No.9, St-72, F-8/3, Islamabad.

Committee(s):

- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production
- Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics, P&D and Privatization
- Standing Committee on Interior and Narcotics Control
- Standing Committee on Religious Affairs

Details:

Tenure = March 2009 to March 2015

Achievements:

- Chaudhry Shujat Hussain, President of Pakistan Muslim League and former Prime Minister of Pakistan, has been playing a leading role in the politics of Pakistan for nearly twenty-four years.
- Born on 27th January, 1946 in Gujarat, Pakistan, Chaudhry Shujat Hussain is a graduate of Forman Christian College, Lahore. He went to London for further studies in Industrial Management. Thereafter he returned to Pakistan and joined the family business comprising of industrial units in textiles, sugar, flour milling and agricultural farms. The eldest son of the late Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi, he is married, with three children, a daughter and two sons.
- His late father was a highly respected parliamentarian who played a prominent role in the restoration of democracy and human rights in the country, A firm believer in democracy, he was imprisoned by various

governments for nearly eight years for his stance on restoration of political institutions. He was declared "Prisoner of Conscience" by Amnesty International. Chaudhry Zahoor Elahi's life came to a tragic end when he became the first political victim of terrorism in Pakistan.

- Upon his father's assassination in 1981, Chaudhry Shujat Hussain entered politics. He became a Member of the Federal Parliament (Majlis-e-Shoora) in 1982. Since then, he has had an illustrious political career, although he himself underwent political imprisonment for a second time in 1994 by the then government in power. During his political life, Chaudhry Shujat Hussain has held several important positions: Throughout his political career, he has remained in the Pakistan Muslim League, a party which created Pakistan.
- Member of National Assembly four times (1985, 1988, 1997, 2002)
- Minister for Information and Broadcasting (1986)
- Minister for Industries and Production (1987-1988)
- Leader of the IJI Parliamentary Party, National Assembly (1988-1990)
- Minister for Interior (1990-1993)
- Member of Senate of Pakistan (1993)
- Chairman, Senate Standing Committee on Defence, Production and Civil Aviation (1993-1997)
- Minister for Interior and Narcotics Control (1997-1999)
- Parliamentary Leader of Pakistan Muslim League in the National Assembly (December 2002)
- Chairman Standing Committee on Defence of National Assembly
- President, Pakistan Muslim League (January, 2003)
- Prime Minister of Islamic Republic of Pakistan (June 2004-August 2004)
- Chairman National Sufi Council (2006)

Awards:

- Awarded "Sitara-e-Isaar" by Government of Pakistan (for his contribution for Earthquake Relief 2005)
- Awarded highest diplomatic award "HEUNG-IN MEDAL" from the President of Republic of Korea.
- Honourary Consul General of Republic of Korea (1982- till date)



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Raja Muhammad Zafar-ul-Haq

Position: Senator

Party Affiliation: PML-N

Gender: Male

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Mobile Phone: 0333-5451515

Fax: 051-2891616

Province: Punjab

Address: H.No.36, St-39, G-7/4, Islamabad.

Committee(s):

- Standing Committee on Industries and Production
(Chairman Committee)
- Standing Committee on Law, Justice and Parliamentary Affairs
- Standing Committee on Religious Affairs
- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production

Details:

Tenure = March 2009 to March 2015

Achievements:

- Born in November 1935.
- Graduated from, Government College, Lahore in 1956.
- Master Degree in Political Science from Punjab University.
- LL.B from Punjab Law College 1958.
- Practised Law from 1958 to 1981 and from 1987 to-date as Advocate Supreme Court.
- Elected President Rawalpindi Bar Association 1977-78. Elected Vice President High Court Bar 1981
- Placed on the Panel of Experts for Pakistan Law Commission
- Minister for Information & Broadcasting and Religious Affairs 1981-85.
- Served Ambassador of Pakistan to Egypt 1985-86.
- Political Adviser to the Prime Minister of Pakistan with the status of a Federal Minister 1986-87.
- Represented Pakistan in the United Nations General Assembly in the 45th Session in 1990-91.

- Elected Member of Pakistan Senate in 1991 for a term of six years.
- Elected Chairman, Standing Committee on Law and Religious Affairs of the Senate 1991-94.
- Appointed Member Board of Trustees, Islamic International University, Islamabad in 1992-97.
- Elected Secretary General, Motamar Al-Alam Al-Islam (World Muslim Congress) in 1992. The oldest International Organization of Muslims, established in 1926 which is a Class-I Consultative Status Observer with the UN and its allied bodies and Observer Status with the O.I.C.
- Elected Leader of the Opposition, Senate of Pakistan from May 1994-1996.
- Elected Leader of the House, Senate of Pakistan in 1997-99.
- Appointed Federal Minister for Religious Affairs in July 1997-October 99.
- Re-elected Secretary General, Motamar Al-Alam Al-Islami in 1997-2002
- Elected Chairman, Pakistan Muslim League (N) 2000-todate.
- Again elected Secretary General, Motamar Al-Alam Al-Islami in December 2002 for another five years.
- Re-elected Secretary General of Motamar 2007-2012.
- Elected Member of the Senate 2009-2015 term.
- Elected Leader of the (Six Parties) Independent Opposition Group 2009.

Visited the following countries to attend International Conferences:

- (1)United Kingdom,(2)United States of America,(3)Kuwait,(4)Japan,(5)Indonesia,(6)Egypt,(7)Libya,(8)Morocco,(9)Tunisia,(10)Maldives,(11)Nigeria,(12)Switzerland,(13)France,(14)Austria,(15)Malaysia,(16)Bangladesh,(17)Thailand,(18)Korea,(19)IvoryCoast,(20)UAE,(21)Oman,(22)Iran,(23)Azerbaijan,(24)Uzbekistan,(25)Kazakhstan,(26)Turkmenistan,(27)Tajikistan,(28)China,(29)Turkey,(30)Jordan,(31)Lebanon,(32)Guinea,(33)Chad,(34)Benin,(35)Sudan,(36)Canada,(37)Sri Lanka and (38)India.



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Malik Muhammad Rafique Rajwana

Tenure: March 2012 to March 2018
Province: Punjab
Party: Pakistan Muslim League Nawaz (PML-N)
Seat Description: General
Designation: Senator
Oath Taking Date: 12-03-2012
Contact Detail: Res: 061-4544532,042-35895255
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Gender: Male
Local Address:H.No.108, Parliament Lodges, Islamabad.
Permanent Address: i. 65/A Rajwana Road Ameerabad,
Multan. ii. 90-Rehman Villas, Defence Road, Lahore

Committee (s):

Defence, Foreign Affairs, Information Technology and
Telecommunication and Parliamentary Affairs



Sabir Ali Baloch

(Deputy Chairman Senate)

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Party Affiliation:PPP-P
Gender:Male
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Office Phone:051-9223482-83
Mobile Phone:0300-3482879
Province:Balochistan

Address:

- i. F-403, Parliament Lodges, Islamabad.
- ii. 209-B, West Wind, Clifton Block-2, Karachi.

Committee(s):

- House Committee (Chairman Committee)
- Standing Committee on Ports and Shipping
- Standing Committee on National Regulations and Services
- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production
- Standing Committee on Petroleum and Natural Resources

Details:

Tenure = March 2009 to March 2015

Achievements:

- B.A
- President, District Punjgoor, PPP: (1973-1975)
- President Makran Division, PPP: (1975-1980)
- Vice President Balochistan, PPP: (1980-)
- Member Provincial Assembly (MPA: 1973-1977)
- Member Provincial Assembly (MPA: 1977-1977)
- Member Provincial Assembly (MPA: 1988-1990)
- Minister: (1988-1989)



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Farhat Ullah Babar

Position: Senator
Party Affiliation: PPP-P
Gender: Male
Home Phone: 051-2827578
Office Phone: 051-2202837
Mobile Phone: 0300-8552543
Fax: 051-2202835
Province: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa
Address: H.No.24-A St-52, F-7/4, Islamabad.

Achievements:

B.A Peshawar 1963,
B.E (Civil Engg) Peshawar 1965, M.I.E 1985, Honors in Pushto Peshawar, 1963, French Language Course 1981, Islamabad, PR Management, PIM Karachi, Pakistan Engineering Council 1983, Certificate, Pakistan Computer Bureau Islamabad 1994, Journalism and Mass Communication, Information Academy Islamabad.

Professional positions including,

- Managing Editor of English National daily The Frontier Post
- Speech Writer to the Prime Minister
- Press Assistant to Prime Minister
- Manager Royal Saudi Air Force Project, Transarabia, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia.

Participation/presentation of papers in scores of national/international seminars, UN meetings and conferences on multilateral and bilateral issues including the following

- United Nations Regional Conference on Disarmament, Beijing, China
- International conference on Nuclear Non-Proliferation in South Asia, ISS
- Third Bilateral Pak-US Forum at Berkeley, USA,.
- 7th OIC summit Casablanca,
- Global Forum Singapore,
- UN General Assembly Session,

Publications: Ten volumes of press articles, columns, research monographs.



Sardar Ali Khan

Position: Senator
Party Affiliation: PPP-P
Gender: Male
Home Phone: 051-2272090
Mobile Phone: 0301-8582540
Province: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Address:

- A-009, Parliament Lodges Islamabad.
- H.No.26, St-52, F-6/4, Islamabad.

Committee(s):

- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production
- Standing Committee on Human Rights
- Standing Committee on States and Frontier Regions
- Standing Committee on Interior and Narcotics Control

Details:

Tenure = March 2009 to March 2015



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**President - Centre for Pakistan and Gulf Studies
Member Senate Standing Committees - Defence &
Defence Production,
Foreign Affairs, Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit-Baltistan,
Human Resource Development & Overseas Pakistanis**

Senator Sehar Kamran is an elected Member of the Upper House of Parliament, Pakistan for the term 2012-2018. She has been elected to the Committees of Parliament for Strategic Defence and Foreign Relations, as well as Pakistan's Diasporas and HRD. In recognition of her contribution in the fields of education, social work and for the promotion of Pakistan in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, she has the honor of being awarded the 'Tamgha-e-Imtiaz' – the Medal of Excellence, one of the highest National Civil Decorations. Today, Sen. Kamran is numbered amongst some of the best renowned practitioners and academicians of the country in the field of regional and international defence and strategic studies.

Senator Kamran is an eminent speaker on various national and international platforms, for social, educational and defence related issues, and has actively participated in a number of national, regional and international conferences, seminars, and workshops. These include a study visit on the subject of Civil-Military relations to South Korea. She has also participated in an OIC workshop on the implementation of UN resolution 1624 on 'Countering Incitement to Terrorism', held at the OIC headquarters in Jeddah, Saudi Arabia. Furthermore, she has also been a part of the Gulf Research Meeting of 2012 at the University of Cambridge, where she presented a paper on Pakistan and the Gulf Region – Historical Perspective and Future Trends; the Gulf Forum 2011 organized by the Gulf Research Council and Diplomatic Institute KSA, and the IISS annual conference on the Global Strategic Review (GSR) held in Geneva in September, 2011. She has participated in the Council of International Schools (CIS) Forum 2011 in Lisbon, Portugal; the First Education Forum of Arab Countries, Dubai in 2006 as well as many other development events. She is also a member of the

International Institute of Strategic Studies (IISS). Recently she also visited Afghanistan as part of the Senate Standing Committee on Defense Production Delegation, to participate in the Track I dialogue between the two States.

Senator Kamran (TI) is currently heading a prestigious international think tank, the Centre for Pakistan and Gulf Studies (CPGS). From this platform, she has launched various initiatives for promoting global and regional peace and security, including a mega-project titled 'SALAM-Innovating Means to Resolve Radical Extremism in Pakistan'. Under her guidance, the Centre has recently floated a National Policy Paper for Peace and Harmony to help eradicate the menace of violent extremism from Pakistan.



SENATE OF PAKISTAN
Report of the Senate Committee on Defence



Col (R) Syed Tahir Hussain Mashhadi

Position: Senator
Party Affiliation: MQM
Gender: Male
Province: Sindh

Committee(s):

- House Committee
- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan
- Standing Committee on Human Resource Development
- Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges (**Chairman Committee**)
- Standing Committee on Interior and Narcotics Control
- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production

Details:

Tenure = March 2012 to March 2018



Haji Muhammad Adeel

Position: Senator
Party Affiliation: ANP
Gender: Male
Home Phone: 091-5272797
Mobile Phone: 0333-9136667
Fax: 091-5278887
Province: Khyber Pakhtunkhwa

Address:

- F-412, Parliament Lodges, Islamabad.
- Gunner Lane, Ziarat RD. The Mall, Peshawar Cantt. Pakistan.

Committee(s):

- Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Kashmir Affairs and Gilgit Baltistan (**Chairman Committee**)
- House Committee
- Standing Committee on Finance, Revenue, Economic Affairs, Statistics, P&D and Privatization
- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production
- Committee on Rules of Procedure and Privileges

Details:

Tenure = March 2009 to March 2015

Achievements:

B.A

Haji Muhammad Adeel s/o Hakeem Abdul Jalil (Hakeem Sahib) was actively involved in the non violence movement against the British Empire in the Sub continent and was the president of All India National Congress Committee Peshawar District and a close colleague of Bacha Khan and Mahatama Gandhi, & Member of Central working committee of Congress, in 1919 jailed at INDEMAN (Kala Pani) for three years.



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Current Position:

- i. Senator
- ii. Parliamentary Leader in Senate of Pakistan
- iii. Senior Vice President, Awami National Party (ANP) Pakistan.
- iv. Chairman Election Commission of ANP.
- v. Coordinator ANP Lawyers.
- vi. Member Central & Provincial Executive Committees of ANP.
- vii. Member, National Executive Committee, Pakistan India People's Forum for Peace and Democracy.
- viii. Member of National Steering Committee INSA (Imagine a New South Asia).

h. Founder Director of :

- a. Khyber Eye Foundation.
- b. Ittifaq Kidney Centre.
- c. Children rehabilitation Centre.
- d. Anti diabetics society.
- xiii. Man of the year Award (1997) by American Biographical Institute USA.
- xiv. Country visited (Afghanistan, Iran India, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Malasia, Singapore, Hong Kong, Thailand, Sri Lanka, Greece, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Germany, France, UK, Canada, USA, Japan, Azbukistan etc).

Previous Positions held:

- i. Acting President of ANP, Pakistan
- ii. Member of Provincial Assembly in 1990, 1993, and 1997.
- iii. Minister Finance in NWFP Provincial Cabinet in 1993.
- iv. Deputy Speaker NWFP Assembly in 1997-1999.
- v. Deputy Parliamentary Leader of ANP in Provincial Assembly.
- vi. Vice President of ANP, Pakistan.
- vii. Additional, General Secretary ANP.
- viii. Information Secretary of ANP/NDP, Pakistan.
- ix. President ANP/NDP/NAP City District, Peshawar.
- x. Chaired Special/Standing Committee in Provincial Assembly on Education, Procuring Rules of Business, Industry, C&W, Health Task Force.
- xi. Remained Member of Public Accounts (1993-97,99) Committee, Finance Committee and Law Reform Committee.
- xii. Senior positions in various organizations like:
 - a. Vice President, Abaseen Arts Council
 - b. Secretary General, Edwards College Student Council Peshawar.
 - c. President Fine Arts Society, Edwards College.
 - d. Chairman Frontier Ghee Manufacturers Group.
 - e. Member Managing Committee All Pakistan Ghee Manufacturers Association.
 - f. Executive Member of Zonal Committee, Federation of Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Pakistan.
 - g. Executive Member, Sarhad Chamber of Commerce and Industry.



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Mr. Abdul Rauf

Tenure: March 2009 to March 2015
Province: Balochistan
Party: Pakhtoonkhwa Milli Awami Party (PKMAP)
Seat Description: General
Designation: Senator
Gender: Male
Marital Status: Local Address
Address: Family Suit # 37 Old MNA Hostel Islamabad.

Committee (s):

Defence, Rules of Procedures and Privileges, Housing and Works,
Functional Committee on Problems of Less Developed Areas



Muhammad Mohsin Khan Leghari

Tenure: March 2012 to March 2018
Province: Punjab
Party: Independent (IND)
Seat Description: General
Designation: Senator
Oath Taking Date: 12-03-2012
Home Number: 042--35894256
Mobile Number: 0300-8454445
Gender: Male
Local Address: C-308, Parliament Lodges, Islamabad.
Permanent Address: 345-Z, Phase-III, DHA, Lahore Cantt.

Committee (s):

Communications, Information Technology and Telecommunication. Water and Power, Functional Committee on Human Rights

Academic Career:

Qualification:

Certification in Financial Markets from Securities Institute of Australia.

Post graduate Diploma in Applied Economics from University of the Punjab.

Additional Information:

Visited Countries:

United States of America, Canada, UK, Germany, Netherlands, Austria, Czech Republic, Belgium, Saudi Arabia, UAE, India, Sri Lanka, Maldives, Thailand, Singapore, Hong Kong, Indonesia and Australia.

Other Information:

Mr. Muhammad Mohsin Khan Leghari son of Col (R) Sardar Rafique Ahmed Khan Leghari was born on June 9, 1963 at Dera Ghazi Khan. After initial schooling at Aitchison College Lahore, he attended the University of Oklahoma. Later, he obtained Certification in Financial



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Markets from the Securities Institute of Australia and he also has a Post graduate Diploma in Applied Economics from the University of the Punjab. He has worked with the world's leading multinational financial information and information technology companies before being elected to the Provincial Assembly. After two terms (2002-2007, 2008-2012) in the provincial parliament he has been elected as the first ever independent senator from Punjab in 2012. During his tenure in the provincial parliament, he was the chairman of the house committee on Local Government and Rural Development (2003-2007) and member of the Public Accounts Committee (2008-2012). He is also an alumni of National Defence University, Islamabad and the Theodor Heuss Academy in G u m m e r s b a c h , G e r m a n y .

He belongs to a renowned political family of southern Punjab, which has been represented in the parliaments since before partition. His uncle, Sardar Farooq Ahmed Khan Leghari was President of Pakistan during 1993-96, his father served as Member Provincial Assembly of the Punjab during 1993-96 and 1997-99. His uncle, Mr. Muhammad Jaffer Khan Leghari (NA-174) and cousins Awais Ahmed Khan Leghari (NA-173) and Muhammad Arshad Khan Leghari (NA-197) are sitting MNAs and another cousin Sardar Muhammad Jamal Khan Leghari (PP-245) is a sitting member of Punjab Assembly.

He was represented Pakistan at the annual United Nations hearings of the Inter Parliamentary Union in 2012.

He is an avid reader with keen interests in current affairs and policy making. He is also weekend golfer.



Syed Faisal Raza Abidi

Position: Senator
Party Affiliation: PPP-P
Gender: Male
Mobile Phone: 0321-8229275, 0301-8241628
Fax: 021-5879099
Province: Sindh

Address:

- i. Room No.442, P.C. Hotel, Rawalpindi.
- ii. Flat M-2, Karrakuram Enclave, Phase-II, F-11/1, Islamabad.
- iii. B-10, New Rizvia Housing Society, Near Safora Goth, Opp: Kiran Hospital, Karachi.

Committee(s):

- Standing Committee on Overseas Pakistanis
- Standing Committee on Information and Broadcasting
- Standing Committee on Information Technology and Telecommunication
- Standing Committee on Defence and Defence Production

Details:

Tenure = March 2009 to March 2015

Achievements:

- B.A, B.B.A
- Business (Import & Export), (Director & Chief Executive: 1997-To date)
- President Pakistan People Party, Karachi Division: (2008-To date)
- Member Central Executive Committee: (2008-To date)
- Al-Zulfiqar Group of Companies, Karachi. C.E.O: (1997-To date)



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Sharifullah Khan Wazir
Additional Secretary/Secretary Committee

Mr. **Wazir** did his **Masters in Political Science** from Peshawar University in 1982 and started his career as a **Lecturer** in Political Science at Government Post Graduate College, Bannu (KPK). During the same year, he qualified the Central Superior Services Competitive Examination and joined Civil Services Academy at Lahore in 1983 after getting his place in Pakistan Audit & Accounts Service. The officer, by now, has completed almost 30 years of his professional career, including two years extensive and specialized training as per following break up:-

- i. 8 years in **Pakistan Military Accounts Department** at Bannu Cantt, Rear Air Headquarters Peshawar, Northern Areas Gilgit and GHQ, Rawalpindi.
- ii. 4 ½ years in **Civil Accounts** as Deputy Accountant General, Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa, Peshawar and Director General Accounts in AGPR, Islamabad.
- iii. 4 ½ years in **Civil Audit** as Director WAPDA Audit Tarbela Dam Project, Director Federal Audit, Islamabad and Director Zakat Audit, Islamabad.
- iv. 1 year in **Health Department**, Govt. of Punjab as Director Finance, Rawalpindi Medical College and Allied Hospitals, Rawalpindi.
- v. 6 years as **Deputy Secretary/Deputy Financial Advisor, Pakistan Aeronautical Complex, Kamra Cantt.**
- vi. 6 years as **Joint Secretary** in Ministries like **Finance Division Military, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Environment** and the **Senate of Pakistan**.
- vii. Current assignment is much enjoyable for the

incumbent officer as the same is much relevant to his highest educational qualification i.e. the Masters Degree in Political Science.

- viii. The officer has also successfully completed his Advance Management Course from National Institute of Public Administration (NIPA), Peshawar and National Management College, Lahore in year 2004 and 2012 respectively.

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Riaz Ahmad Khan

Senior Private Secretary

Mr. Riaz Ahmad Khan, Senior Private Secretary, Senate Secretariat has been working in the Senate Committee on Defence & Defence Production since June 2012. Earlier he was posted in the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. He holds Bachelor's Degree from University of Peshawar and Master's Degree in Political Science from University of Punjab, Lahore. He is responsible for maintaining the Committee Office, upkeep of record, contact with Members of the Committee and coordinate with Secretary Committee/Senate Secretariat for holding meetings of the Committee. He is also dealing with the work related to preparation of the reports in the book form which involves compilation, proof-reading, coordination with printers and dissemination of the report to various quarters in public and private sectors.

Contact information:

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SENATE OF PAKISTAN
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Development and Democracy

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